A NEW

HISTORY

OF THE

EAST-INDIES,

ANCIENT and MODERN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Containing the CHOROGRAPHY, NATURAL HISTORY, RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, MANNERS and CUSTOMS, REVOLUTIONS, &c. of thoſe COUNTRIES.

VOL. II.

Containing an ESSAY towards a HISTORY of the COMMERCE of the ſeveral NATIONS of EUROPE to the EAST-INDIES.

SHEWING

The RISE, PROGRESS, and PRESENT STATE of that TRAFFIC; as carried on by the ENGLISH, DUTCH, FRENCH, PORTUGUEZE, SWEDES, and DANES, from the firſt Diſcovery of a new Route to the INDIES, round the CAPE of GOOD-HOPE, to the preſent Time.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IT may not be improper juſt to acquaint the reader, that the firſt volume of this work is tranſlated from the Abbé DE GUYON, an ingenious French writer: and that the ſecond volume, which contains an account of the commerce of the Europeans to theſe countries, is written originally in Engliſh, except the account of the French India company, which is taken from the abovementioned author.

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M CASPIUM

75 80 85 90 95

38 35 30 25

HYRCANIA

Socanda

Antiochia ad Margum

Syracene

MARGIANA

Arvas

Ænuntio

Hecatompylos

Choatras Fl.

Margus Fl.

Marusca

PARTHIA

Nomades Parthiæ

Susia

Artacabana

Arva

ARIA

Alexandria

Rages

Sotera

Nisibis

Tabiene

Zarangiei

Pharana

Parapamisus M.

Prophtasia Drangarum

Deserta

Chuthi

DRANGIANA

Panthiene

Carmana

Metropolis

CARAMANIA

Ariaspe

Hermandus Fl.

Sedrasyra

Phara

Horrea Regia

GEDROSII

Oritæ

Alexandria

Oro Emporium

Arbis

Akaris Fl. seu Arbis

MARE INDICUM

INDIA
cognita ab expeditione
ALEXANDRI
ad quintum à Christo
Sæculum

Stadia Græca quorum 600 Gradui respondent

600 1200 1800

SOGDIANA

Oxus Fl.

Dyrta

Choriana

Bazaria

Scythiæ Ripæ

Oxus Fl.

Arsinæ

Astacana

Bactria

Tabora

Bactra

BACTRIANA

Margus

Bactrus

Dargis

Drapsa

Oxolina

Dardæ

Gurræi

Assaceni

Peucelaotis

Arsaces Thirtæi

Aspii

Aspagenus

Parthena

Caspiræa

Abyssari

Glaucanicæ

Thaxilæ

Taxila

Ariaspa

Nicæa

Asoni

Sobii

Hydaspis Fl.

Regnum Pori

Acesines Fl.

Sopithæi

Deserta

Cathæi

Gandariti

Adraistæ

Sibæ

Hydraotis Fl.

Gandaritis

Primpama

Oxidracæ

Malli

Indabara

Hasidrus

Bubacene

Sabracæ

Hyphasis Fl.

Empalathra

INDO-SCYTHIA

Parasangæ

Minnagara

Megallæ

Sodri

Sogdi

Arabi Fl.

Chrysæi

Cetriboni

Deserta

Apocopi Montes

Musicani

Regnum

Harmatlia

Sami

INDIA

Hyala

Barca

Barbaricum Emporium

Cattigara

Gagasmira

Deserta

Regio

T. Kitchin Sculp.

Meridies



A NEW HISTORY OF THE EAST-INDIES.

PART I.

Of the Ancient Indies.

CHAP. I.

A Topographical Deſcription of the Ancient Indies.

THERE has not been a country more famous and celebrated among the Ancients, and at the ſame time leſs known, than the Indies. Whether a Bacchus, an Oſiris, or a Hercules, carried their arms thither, and at their return related marvellous ſtories of them to the Greeks; or whether that

people had heard of them from the Phenicians and the Tyrians (*a*), who, it is pretended, had ſailed a long time before the fleets of Solomon, even to the remoteſt coaſts of the Eaſt; or laſtly, whether the Egyptian merchants had an eſtabliſhed trade there (*b*), it is believed that the name of the Indies was not unknown among the Greeks, the Syrians, and the Egyptians, above a thouſand years before the Chriſtian æra. The moſt ancient monuments of hiſtory give teſtimony to the conqueſts of Semiramis and Seſoſtris in the Indies; and the learned are not agreed among themſelves, whether or not Homer has not made mention of them.

But nothing could be more perplexed and chimerical than the notion which they formed of them, although it was founded on the nature of a country, whoſe riches and rarities had rendered it remarkable above all others. Common report turned every thing into the marvellous. The land bore nothing but giants, and the Indus and Ganges were repleniſhed with monſters. This was believed even in the moſt enlightened ages. The Romans having changed the courſe of the Orontes, in order to carry their fleet to Antioch (*c*), found in the old channel a coffin of white clay eleven cubits long, in which were encloſed the bones of a man that took up it's whole length. Such a ſight aſtoniſhed all the world. The Syrians conſulted Apollo of Claros in Ionia, and

(*a*) Mr. Huet's Hiſtory of trade and navigation, c. 51.
(*b*) Idem, c. 9.
(*c*) Pauſanias, l. viii. c. 29.

the

the oracle made anſwer, that it was the body of Orontes a native of the Indies. Herodotus, Cteſias, Agatarchides, Dionyſius Periegetes, Megaſthenes, Oneſicritus, and Nearchus himſelf, the admiral of Alexander, have given out things of this country, which were only fit to be related in the fabulous ages of Greece.

After ſuch palpable inſtances of ignorance about the nature of the Indies, is it to be wondered at, that they ſhould know ſo little of it's ſituation and geography? They have carried their errors ſo far (*d*) as to confound the river Indus with the Nile (*e*) to miſtake the latter for a branch of the former, to look upon the Indies as the third part of the habitable world, to believe that the Ganges was the extremity of the world, beyond which there were no more people, as the ſoldiers of the Macedonian hero repreſented to him with tears in their eyes. Strabo, on the faith of Eratoſthenes, was of the ſame opinion, when he ſet down the ocean as the limit of the Indies towards the Eaſt; whether he therein comprehended China and Japan, or which is more probable, knew nothing of them. Ptolomy, a famous geographer in the eleventh century, has fallen into an error of another kind, in pretending to give as circumſtantial a detail of the cities and villages of the Indies (*f*),

(*d*) Strabo, l. xv. p. 1010. and the following pages, laſt edition.

(*e*) Nothing can be more abſurd than the manner in which Q. Curtius talks, making the Ganges ariſe from the ſouth. l. viii. c. 9.

(*f*) Ptolomy, l. 7. c. 1, 2. from p. 197, to 214. edit. Berti, Elzev.

as we can now do of the beſt known and moſt frequented province in France. The maps which have been exactly formed upon the poſitions of that author (*g*) have given a repreſentation of this part of the world very different from it's real ſtate; and have at the ſame time ſhewn how imaginary that geography is, which he has given us.

From this confuſion of ideas has ariſen that equivocal acceptation of the Indies; a great ſource of puzzling and difficulties in the reading of hiſtorians. Xenophon (*h*) has fancied a province of that name between the Euxine and the Caſpian ſeas. It is from thence that he ſeems to bring thoſe pretended Indian ambaſſadors, whom Cyrus took for his arbiters in the war he had with the kings of Aſſyria, or rather of Babylon and Lydia. Others, and theſe in a great number, have given the name of the Indies to Ethiopia, whereof we ſee inſtances, even in writers of the ſixth century. The reſemblance between theſe nations (*i*), and the nature of the countries in which they dwelt, gave occaſion to this miſtake. The Greeks having heard that the ſouthern Indians were black and ſwarthy, eaſily confounded them with the people of Ethiopia and of Colchis, and imagined that the firſt were a colony that had ſtraggled from the Eaſt, as the Colchians were originally Ethiopian ſol-

(*g*) Le Martiniere's geographical dictionary, at the article Indies.

(*h*) Xenophon. Cyrop. l. i.

(*i*) This point is learnedly handled in a diſſertation by M. Freret, T. viii. of the memoirs of the Academy of Inſcript.

diers,

diers, whom Seſoſtris had left in that province to defend his conqueſts againſt the northern nations. Secondly, the Indies have ever been reckoned a country abounding in all ſorts of riches; and we know that Colchis had it's mines of gold, and that Ethiopia produced the ſame animals which are to be ſeen in the Indies. There needed no more than this conformity to give occaſion to authors little verſed in geography, to confound together ſuch remote countries, as Colchis, Ethiopia, and the Indies.

We have no real knowledge of the laſt but of thoſe provinces and cities through which the army of Alexander paſſed, and which Arrian (*k*) has deſcribed with all poſſible exactneſs. Here follows an abridgement of his deſcription. Capiſſenia, a country ſo named from Capiſſa, a city which Cyrus had deſtroyed, adjoined to the confines of the Paropamiſades, the frontier of the higher Indies towards the weſt. Bubacenia, which Alexander ſubdued by the arms of Polypercon, was not far from hence. That monarch after his departure from Bactria, went firſt to Nicea, a little farther towards the ſouth, where he built a city to which he gave his own name. The Greeks who accompanied him thought fit to give the name of Caucaſus, to a chain of mountains which lay round about. The army having paſſed the Cophenus, entered the Indies. Between that river and the Choaſpes, or Choës, were ſituated the Araſocians and the Tyræans; and beyond theſe the cities of Au-

(*k*) Arrianus de exped. Alex. lib. iv, v, & vi.

dacena, Acadera, Dedalus, and Nyſa. The inhabitants pretended to derive their origin from Bacchus the conqueror, who, they ſaid, built the city of Nyſa, and planted in the country round it, the ivy, the vine, and the laurel. This was no more than a fable, the invention of a few Greek authors (*l*), but rejected by the greateſt number. Near this place ſtood the pretended mountain *Meros*, that is to ſay, *the thigh*, alluding to what the poets relate of Jupiter, who, as they ſay, concealed this offspring of his amours in his thigh, till he was perfectly formed. The Aſpians and the Aſpagonians poſſeſſed the middle part of thoſe famous regions. The river Evaſpala terminated that long extent of country. Between that and the Indus was contained a much more conſiderable ſpace of ground. It was inhabited by the Dardes, a very populous nation, by the Puceläotes and the Aſſaceras, whoſe capital was called Maſſaca. At the taking of this city Alexander received a dangerous wound. Going towards the ſouth he took the town of Ora, and the fortreſs or rock of Aornus, which his flatterers ſaid had formerly been beſieged by Hercules to no purpoſe. Ecbolima was the laſt place of that country which terminated at the Indus.

Between that river and the Hydaſpes lay the Taxiles, the Arlaſpes, the Sobians, the Aſenians, the Sibes, and the Malians. Alexander cauſed a town to be built there which he called Nicea, to perpetuate the memory and rapidity

(*l*) Strabo, p. 687.

of

of his victories. Beyond the Hydaſpes he built another in honour of Bucephalus. The brave Porus was king of all this country. It extended to Aceſina. A barren and almoſt uninhabited country lay between this river and the Hydroates. The Brachmans were its chief inhabitants, altho' they poſſeſſed a famous city beyond the Hydroates. Between this river and the Hyphaſis, lay the country of the Sopites, the Catheans, the Gangarides, the Pharaſians, the Phegeleans, and the Oxidraques, amongſt whom Alexander ran an extreme hazard of his life, by having raſhly leaped the rampart of their city. The Hyphaſis became the boundary of his conqueſts, on account of the oppoſition the Macedonians made to his farther progreſs. He only paſſed it, in order to erect thoſe ſuperb altars, in imitation of the columns of Hercules. As we are indebted to the expedition of that hero, for what knowledge we have of this country, ſuch as it then was, ſo we are entirely ignorant of all that exiſted beyond it to the Ganges. Arrian makes mention of two cities, Minnagora and Barygaxa, both which he celebrates for their commerce. That vaſt extent of country, now ſo famous, which ſtretches from the junction of all thoſe rivers to the Indus, even to the bottom of the peninſula, was as little known to the ancients. They mention only the kingdoms of the Sabraques, of the Sogdes, of Muſican, of the Preotes, of the Sabians, and that of Patala. Some of the inhabitants they called Indo-Scythians.

All that country which we have been deſcribing, has the name of *India within the Ganges*; *India intra Gangem*. It contained one hundred and eighteen nations (*m*) or provinces, in ſome of which were three hundred cities (*n*), as in the kingdom of Porus (*o*); in others much fewer, and there were princes who reigned only over two. Above forty rivers are ſaid to run through this country, moſt of them navigable, and all of them throw themſelves into the Indus. After ſwallowing up ſo many others, we may form a judgement of it's bigneſs, by that of the Hydaſpes, whoſe channel is never leſs than twenty ſtadia, or a great league (*p*). What then muſt a river be in which ſo many others loſe themſelves?

This firſt part of the Indies is bounded by the Ganges; on the north by a long chain of mountains which ſeparate it from Scythia. They have gone under different names. Some geographers have called them Mount Paropamiſa (*q*), becauſe they bordered on the Paropamiſians, who dwelt towards the ſouth of Bactria. Others (*r*) aſſure us that it is a continuation of Mount Taurus, which beginning at Mycalè in Ionia, runs through all Aſia, and gives riſe to the greateſt part of the rivers. But the Mace-

(*m*) Megaſthenes apud Arrianum in Indicis, cap. 7.
(*n*) Strabo, p. 698.
(*o*) Plin. lib. vi. c. 20.
(*p*) Arrianus de exped. Alexand. lib. vi. cap. 4.
(*q*) Plin. l. v. c. 20.
(*r*) Arrianus de exped. Alexand. lib. v. cap. 5. Strabo variis locis. Cellarius, lib. iii. cap. 3.

donians

donians to flatter Alexander, ſaid it was Mount Caucaſus, from whence Hercules had delivered Prometheus, becauſe they found the inhabitants covered with the ſkins of beaſts, frequently of lions, and becauſe they imprinted with a hot iron the figure of a club on the foreheads of their oxen. This mountain, however, has nothing in common with the Caucaſus, which lies between the Pontus Euxinus and the Caſpian ſea. It is not ſo eaſy to determine the boundaries of India towards the weſt. Some (*s*), in fixing them for the ages of antiquity, have carried them as far back as Arabia, that they might give ſome ſhew of probability to the conqueſts of Bacchus, Hercules, Oſiris, and Seſoſtris. Others place them at the river Indus (*t*). There are ſome who begin them at the river Arbis (*u*), below the ſprings of the Cophena, and to this latter opinion we muſt adhere. On the ſouth, the Indies are bounded by the ocean, into which the Indus and the Ganges diſcharge themſelves.

The long detail which Ptolomy has left us on *India without the Ganges*, makes it evident it was little known in his time, by the names which he gives to the countries and the inhabitants. He places beyond the gulph of the Ganges the land of Silver; after that the Anthropophagi, the Padeans, and the Leſtes, or the robbers. Some bad treatment which the Europeans re-

(*s*) Le Clerc, Bib. Univerſ.
(*t*) Strabo, lib. xv. p. 688, & 720. Arrianus in Indicis, c. 2. Q. Curt. lib. ix. c. 10.
(*u*) Ptolomy & Cellarius, lib. iii. c. 23. Arrianus, Ind. c. 21, & 22.

ceived

ceived on thoſe coaſts, might have given occaſion to ſuch vague titles, from which we can learn nothing either of the country or the people. After theſe he places the golden Cherſoneſe, which can be nothing but the kingdom of Siam, a river called Chryſaona, and a trading city called Tacola. Some geographers have ſought there for the land of Ophir. The ſame author bounds India beyond the Ganges in this manner. To the weſt he places the Ganges; to the north Scythia and Serigua; the country of the Sinæ or Chineſe to the eaſt; and to the ſouth, the ocean.

The various riches of the famous iſland of Taprobana have rendered it the moſt celebrated place of the Indies. It is now paſt diſpute the ſame with Ceylon. The gold, precious ſtones, and ſpiceries with which it abounds, drew thither a great concourſe of foreign traders. When the Romans carried their merchandize thither(*x*), the iſlanders ſeized on their veſſels; they took from them what they wanted, and gave in exchange gold, jewels, cloves, pepper, and cinnamon, a cuſtom to this day practiſed in Japan. That people, who were diſperſed into ſeven hundred villages, ſeemed to value themſelves upon the ſingularity of their manners. They worſhipped Hercules and Bacchus, and rendered divine honours to their king. The throne was elective, and the qualifications neceſſary for attaining that dignity were, an advanced age, and

(*x*) Plin. lib. vi. cap. 22. Strabo, p. 690. Ambroſiaſtre de moribus Brachmanum.

an

an eſtabliſhed character for a remarkable ſweetneſs of temper. The prince muſt have had no children at the time of his election. If he had any afterwards, he was obliged to reſign the crown into the hands of the people, leſt it might become hereditary. Thirty wiſe men were appointed to form his council, and by their advice to maintain the rights of the nation. Although criminals could not be condemned to death but by a majority of voices, they had yet the liberty of appealing to the people. In that caſe ſeventy commiſſioners were appointed to review the trial; and if the firſt ſentence was repealed, thoſe who had given their votes for paſſing it were diſmiſſed with ignominy. No body was allowed to keep ſlaves or domeſtics. Every body was obliged to ſerve himſelf; and to retrench effeminacies and idleneſs, ſleep was prohibited from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſetting. The price of eatables was never raiſed, whatever ſcarcity might happen. No law-ſuit was ſuffered between private perſons. If any difference aroſe, they were obliged immediately to lay it before the prince; there was no other tribunal in the iſland. The king was ſubject to the law as well as his vaſſals. If he committed any conſiderable fault, they condemned him to death without inflicting any corporal puniſhment. He ſaw himſelf abandoned and ſhunned by all the world as a proſcribed perſon, to whom all the comforts, and even the neceſſaries of life were denied. It was even a crime to ſpeak of him. Entire ſtrangers to that diſſolution and profligacy ſo cuſtomary at all

pagan

pagan feſtivals, theſe iſlanders paſſed their time in hunting the tiger and elephant, and fiſhing for tortoiſes, with ſhells whereof they covered their houſes. Agriculture employed the reſt of their time, and the temperance which they obſerved, lengthened out their lives to a century.

A traveller (*xx*) of the ninth century, relates, that when the king of that iſland, which he calls Serindib, dies, they lay his corpſe upon a chariot, in ſuch a ſituation, that, being turned upon his back, his head hangs ſo near the ground, that his hairs trail in the duſt. The chariot is followed by a woman who has a broom in her hand, and throws duſt upon the head of the deceaſed. At the ſame time a public officer cries with a loud voice: "O man, behold thy "king; he was yeſterday thy maſter: now his "empire is no more: he is reduced into the "ſtate wherein thou ſee him, having quitted "this world. The arbiter of death has recalled "his ſoul. After this truſt not to the uncertain "hopes of this life." They make this proclamation, and ſome others of the ſame kind for three days. After which they embalm the body with ſandal-wood, camphire, and ſaffron; burn it, and throw the aſhes in the air. It is cuſtomary all over the Indies to burn the dead. Commonly the kings wives throw themſelves into the pile, whereon the body of their huſband is

(*xx*) The abbè Renaudot has publiſhed two Arabian travellers of the ninth century, interſperſed the one with the other, and which are of ſome value. It is from them I have this fact. I cite them as he does, under the title of ancient relations of the Indies and China.

con-

consuming; but they are under no obligation to do it, and some of them altogether dispense with this ceremony.

CHAP. II.

The religion of the ancient Indians.

ALTHO' the Indians are descended from Shem, whose posterity preserved the memory of the true God for a longer time than those of Ham and Japhet, yet the darkness which spread itself over every human mind effaced the idea which the Creator had imprinted there; and they transferred their homage to the sun (y), the moon, to trees, and other sensible objects. The day-star had one of the most magnificent temples that ever was built (z). The walls were of porphiry, covered within with plates of gold, on which were carved rays which shone diverging every way from whatever side they were beheld. In the bottom of the temple was a figure of the sun composed of an infinite number of different sorts of precious stones, disposed in a very artificial manner; and which one might have said came near the original, if it was possible to imitate that wonder of nature. They paid their adoration to that star by dancing in a circle, in imi-

(y) Photius ex Ctesia. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9. Philost. l. iii. c. 15.

(z) It is Philostratus who writes this in the life of Apollonius Tyaneus. I shall make great use of it in the sequel. Philost. in vit. Apol. Tyan. l. ii. c. 24. Edid. Olearii.

tation of it's courſe (*a*). This was the only idol which the Indians had amongſt them, till being inſtructed by the Greeks in the worſhip of the heroes of fabulous antiquity, they conſecrated an elephant, which they called Ajax, with two golden ſtatues of Alexander, and two brazen ones repreſenting Porus.

Their ſacrifices ſeemed to be deduced from the Egyptian and Pythagorean doctrine (*b*) of the Metempſichoſis. From the perſuaſion that the ſame ſpirit is ſometimes in a man, ſometimes in a beaſt, or in a plant, ſome of them uſed no other ſacrifices than libations. Others offered up animals, but without cutting their throats (*c*), leſt, as they ſaid, the effuſion of blood ſhould render the victim imperfect. The prieſt only ſtrangled him; and it was remarked as a great ſingularity, that during the whole ceremony, he never made uſe of a crown, contrary to the cuſtom of almoſt all other nations.

In their grand ſolemnities, they made proceſſions, wherein they diſplay'd in honour of the god whoſe feſtival they celebrated, every thing their country produced which was curious and valuable (*d*). A great number of elephants marched in the front, loaded with ornaments of gold and ſilver; a great many chariots adorned with plates of gold; and oxen coupled together by the yoke. The ſoldiers came afterwards, cloathed

(*a*) Lucianus de Saltatione.
(*b*) Herod. l. iii. c. 100. Philoſt. ibid. l. viii. c. 7. ſec. 12. p. 347.
(*c*) Strabo, l. xv. p. 710.
(*d*) Ibid. p. 718.

in

in a moſt magnificent and extraordinary manner, carrying large gilded kettles, baſons, cups, tables, and couches, for their repaſts; theſe implements were adorned with beryls, diamonds, rubies, carbuncles or pearls. Some led along leopards and tame lions, and others carried birds of many different kinds, whoſe ſong together with the fife and drum compoſe all the muſic uſed by thoſe nations at their feſtivals.

The great quantity of rains which fall in the ſummer time on the mountains (*e*) lying to the north of India and in the low countries, ſwell the rivers to ſuch a degree that the country is frequently laid under water. Theſe inundations are neceſſary from time to time to deſtroy an infinite number of inſects in the ſouthern parts; but ſometimes they riſe ſo high that they become hurtful to the harveſt, and do great damage to the houſes. When (*f*) the king perceives that the overflowing of a river is like to become prejudicial, he goes thither to appeaſe the wrath of the gods by ſupplications. He begins by ſacrificing bulls and black horſes, as more rare and valuable than others. After the ſacrifice he throws into the river a buſhel made of gold, of the ſame bigneſs with that in which they meaſure the grain, to implore the preſervation of the fruits of the earth, and moderate rains. The Greeks afterwards altered that ceremony by introducing the worſhip of Jupiter Pluvialis.

(*e*) Arrian. in Ind. c. 6. Strabo, l. xv. p. 706.
(*f*) Philoſt. in vita Apollonii, l. ii. c. 19.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Kings.

THE royal blood gave an equal title both to the prieſthood and the crown. In the Indies (*g*) there was only the country of Gangaris and the Catheans, lying between the Hydroates and the Hyphaſis, where the throne was not hereditary. There, by a ſtrange ſort of caprice, beauty of perſon decided the choice. Two months after a ſon was born to the prince, or any other perſon, his body, and the figure and proportion of all his parts were examined. If the judges perceived no defect, they pronounced him worthy to live, and had him brought up with care. If they obſerved any thing irregular or diſproportioned, the child was condemned to death. As the eyes were alone conſulted for marriage, as well as the ſcepter, a queen who had become a widow, was not aſhamed to marry a barber (*h*): and the people were obliged to acknowledge him for their king, in prejudice of the rights of all the princes and grandees of the realm. Having brought nothing to the throne but the baſeſt and moſt degenerate diſpoſitions, he ſoon fell under univerſal contempt, and ſhewed the meanneſs of his ſpirit by the ſubmiſſions which he haſtened to make to Alexander.

(*g*) Oneſicritus apud Strabonem, p. 699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 561.
(*h*) Q. Curt. l. ix. p. 561.

Every

Every where elſe, birth gave a title to the crown; and the eldeſt of the royal family was always preferred. According to a national tradition, Bacchus, the firſt conqueror of the Indies (*l*) had made this regulation. After having taught the manner of ſowing the ground, cultivating the vine, and celebrating his own feſtivals, he appointed Spaſtembras one of his friends for king, who reigned two and fifty years: Budyus his ſon ſucceeded him, and held the government for twenty years: the next was Cradevas; and when Megaſthenes travelled into India, Sandrocotus was the hundred and fifty-third, who poſſeſſed the throne in a direct line. But there never was one ſole monarch of the country. Of the hundred and eighteen nations which they reckoned, there were few who had not a king to themſelves; ſometimes independent, but more frequently the tributary of another. Porus, a ſucceſſor of him who had been vanquiſhed by Alexander, and afterwards honoured as his valour deſerved, wrote to Ceſar, who was then at Antioch, to teſtify his eſteem of him (*m*), and to aſſure him, that though he commanded over ſix hundred kings of his nation (*n*), he was nevertheleſs ready to obey him, and

(*l*) Arrian. de exped. Alexand. l. v. c. 6, & de Indicis. c. 8. & 9.

(*m*) Strabo, p. 719. Florus, lib. iv. cap. ult. Sueton. in Octav. c. 2. Eutrop. l. vii.

(*n*) From this it appears, that moſt of them could only have had one ſingle city or ſmall canton in their dominions, like to theſe ſeventy kings whom Adonibeſec had made his ſlaves, Judges, c. i. ver. 7.

to follow him with all his ſubjects wherever he pleaſed to lead him. The ambaſſadors were accompanied by eight ſlaves almoſt naked, who carried perfumes, and a preſent of tigers, which Porus had ſent to the Roman hero. Theſe were the firſt animals of that kind which had been ſeen in the Weſt (*o*).

However great the number of thoſe princes might be, no hiſtorian has given us a ſucceſſion of them, and we know but a ſmall part of their laws and cuſtoms. They were obliged to make their appearance every day, in order to hear the complaints of their ſubjects, to judge of all differences ariſing among them, and to regulate the affairs of the ſtate; and they were not permitted to riſe from the audience, even to take refreſhment, before every thing was ended (*p*). They could do nothing without the advice of their council. When more important affairs, or what related to religion, were under agitation, they were to conſult (*q*) the Brachmans, that is, the Sages, who again conſulted the Augurs. The fidelity which they obſerved in their negociations (*r*) was inviolable. To expreſs the ſacredneſs of them, they gave their heralds the ſign of an anchor, the ſymbol of firmneſs and conſtancy.

We cannot better give a notion of their manners and character, than by laying before the

(*o*) Dio Caſſius, lib. lv. p. 527.
(*p*) Strabo, p. 710.
(*q*) Philoſt. l. iii. c. 10.
(*r*) Ibid. l. iii. c. 11.

reader

reader the account which Philoſtratus has left us of one of thoſe princes. The firſt palace which Apollonius Tyaneus met with after he had paſſed the river Indus (*s*), was in the kingdom of the Taxiles; he was ſurpriſed at the noble ſimplicity which ſhewed itſelf in all it's parts. Perceiving nothing extraordinary in the ſculpture, no guards nor armed men about it, he imagined it was only the houſe of ſome noble citizen. Approaching nearer he ſaw a few ſlaves at the gate, and three or four perſons who demanded audience of the king. He entered with them; and the modeſty which he obſerved every where, whether in the entrance, or in the apartments, impreſſed him with more reſpect and veneration than all the luxury, pomp and numerous trains of the Babylonian monarchs.

The noble and majeſtic air with which the king Phraotes made his appearance, accompanied with a very ſlender retinue, recalled into his memory, what he had heard of the wiſdom of the Brachmans and their diſciples; from theſe circumſtances he made no doubt, that thoſe princes compoſed a ſecond order of Sages. He took the liberty to ſpeak to him by an interpreter, in this manner: "It appears to me, my Lord, "that you place your delight in philoſophy, "and take it for the rule of your life: allow me "to congratulate you upon it." It is true, replied the prince, and I am glad to find you in the ſame ſentiments. Is it the law, ſaid Apol-

(*s*) Ibid. in vita Apollonii, lib. ii. c. 25. & ſeq.

lonius, or your own particular taſte, that baniſhes from your palace all that magnificence and expence, which are the ordinary appendages of the throne and the purple? The law, returned the prince, and my own taſte, keep at a diſtance from me all that vain apparatus, which has only the glare of falſe glory, and is no ſign of real deſert. I uſe with moderation the little which our anceſtors have permitted us to have; and though perhaps one of the moſt puiſſant of monarchs, I know how to content myſelf with a little; I leave what is ſuperfluous to my friends. Happy oeconomy! exclaimed Apollonius, which knows by the contempt of money to purchaſe a treaſure! But, returned the prince, it is not only to my friends that I leave part of my riches; I abandon part to my enemies, that they may ſuffer my ſubjects to live in repoſe and tranquillity. It is in this that I place all my glory. Apollonius enquired into his manner of living. I drink no wine, anſwered the prince, but when I pour it out on the earth in honour of the ſun. I give to others what I purchaſe in the chace, contenting myſelf with the exerciſe it affords me. A few vegetables, the pith and fruit of the palm, what grows in my garden, and on the trees which I cultivate, are my ordinary food.

After this converſation, which paſſed in public, the king diſmiſſed the reſt of the company, and kept Apollonius with him. Then he ſpoke to him in Greek, and aſked him to entertain him at ſupper. The philoſopher, extremely ſurpriſed at that new language, complained that he had

had not uſed it from the firſt; and added, that it did not become a ſtranger to entertain a prince at ſupper. "It becomes the moſt worthy, an-"ſwered the king, and it is an honour which I "yield to you. My crown ought to ſhew an "example of juſtice." However Apollonius would not conſent. Phraotes then took him into his garden, which was a ſtadium in length, in the middle whereof was a large baſon, whoſe waters were continually renewed by a ſpring, and at the two ſides were two large walks for the exerciſe of running and ſhooting with the bow. After they had bathed they ſat down to eat.

The king placed himſelf on a couch after the manner of the Orientals; at his ſide were five perſons only. In the middle of the hall was a great table in the form of an altar, a foot and a half high. On this was ſerved up fiſh, fowl, lions entire, kids, the thighs of tigers, herbs, fruit and bread. Every one went and took what he liked beſt, then returned to eat it on his couch. During the repaſt, thirty muſicians formed a concert round the table with drums and fifes; and they ſtrewed every where branches of laurel and myrtle, and other ſweet-ſmelling plants, to perfume the hall. Oppoſite to the king, ſome young Indians endeavoured to divert him with feats of ſtrength and activity. When every one had done eating, large cups were brought, one of which was ſufficient to ſatisfy ten people, where every one drank, with the head bent down. When the repaſt was over (*t*), a freſh band of

(*t*) Philoſt. cap. 34.

muſicians came to attend the king to his chamber to lay him aſleep with the ſound of their flutes.

The modeſty of Phraotes's court, was in part owing to the doctrine of the Brachmans, to which that prince, by being deſcended from the Taxiles, conformed (*u*). Peace, juſtice, and moderation, were hereditary on the throne; and near four hundred years before Apollonius travelled into the Indies, a king of the ſame family had appeared before Alexander, and got the better of his pride and haughtineſs (*x*) merely by the wiſdom and prudence of his diſcourſe. But the manners were far from being every where ſo ſevere. And is it to be wondered at, that in ſuch a great extent of country, and amidſt ſuch a number of princes, the diſcipline ſhould have ſuffered ſome alteration, ſince in the ſame city, or in the ſame family, we ſee contraſts of life, which we ſhould hardly think probable (*y*)?

In the kingdom of Muſican, near the delta of the river Indus, luxury and effeminacy were carried to as great a height as ever they had been among the Perſians in the dregs of the laſt ages of their empire. The king was continually ſurrounded by a train of women, whoſe manners, actions, ſongs and converſation, inſpired nothing but the moſt ſhameful pleaſures. When the

(*u*) Strabo, p. 714.
(*x*) Plut. in Alex. Diod. l. xvii. p. 557.
(*y*) Philoſtratus himſelf makes the contraſt of one of theſe luxurious princes with Phraotes, l. iii. c. 26.

prince

prince appeared in public (*x*), his officers carried before him cenſers of ſilver to perfume the road. He lay upon a litter of gold, adorned with pearls, which hung down from it on all ſides. His dreſs was a long robe of linen, embroidered with gold and purple. His concubines accompanied him in his march with a pageantry worthy of them; and his guards carried round about him branches filled with birds of all kinds, whoſe different ſongs compoſed the favourite concert of the Indians. The train of the queen followed, and it's magnificence yielded in nothing to that of the king. The prince's greateſt exerciſe was the chace. When he hunted in an encloſure, he did not alight from his chariot, in which he ſat with his concubines, who ſhot with the bow as well as himſelf; when he hunted in the open fields, he rode upon an elephant.

The entry of his palace was adorned with ſeveral vermilion columns, on which crept a vine of gold, with the figures of birds made of ſilver, and painted of divers colours (*a*). It was open to every body, eſpecially at the hours of audience. While the king was hearing the ambaſſadors and judging cauſes, he had his women about him, whereof ſome were combing him, and others perfumed his feet, and others his

(*x*) Q. Curt. l. viii. c 9. Oneſicritus apud Strabonem, p. 710. This Oneſicritus was in Alexander's expedition.

(*a*) Ælian ſpeaks of the palace of the great king of the Indies; that might very well be a deſcendant of Porus, which he places far before thoſe of Suſa and Ecbatana. De animalibus, l. xiii. c. 18.

hands. They ſhaved his whole face except the chin, and never cut his beard. The women likewiſe made ready his victuals, and ſerved him at table. His jealouſy was carried to ſuch a pitch, that, if any one looked at them earneſtly, or approached too near them, he was put to death.

CHAP. IV.

Of the different Orders in the State.

ONE muſt be at a loſs to underſtand, how under princes ſo effeminate, ſo much order and diſcipline were nevertheleſs preſerved in the ſtate, that they were admired on that account by the moſt civilized foreign nations. But it muſt be remembered, that luxury was not predominant in all the courts. A wiſe ſenate preſided over all the affairs of government: the members of it were choſen by the people; the king had only a voice in it; and, if that council was accuſed of error or injuſtice, the parties appealed to the people, who tried the cauſe afreſh, and amended the ſentence if neceſſary; in fine, the whole country was divided into ſeven claſſes, of which every one had it's chiefs, and ſuperintendants, who reſtrained particulars within the bounds of their duty. The firſt of theſe claſſes was, that of the Brachmans, or Sages; the ſecond, of the huſbandmen; the third, of the ſhepherds; the fourth contained the merchants and tradeſmen; the fifth, the ſoldiers; the ſixth, the ſuperintendants;

tendants; and the ſeventh, the counſellors of the king and people.

The prince was diſtinguiſhed above the Brachmans by nothing but his ſcepter, and the pomp of his purple. Their continual application in the ſearch of truth, the purity of their manners, the retirement and auſterity in which they lived, had acquired them all the honours and immunities which the prieſts enjoyed among the Egyptians, or the Magi among the Perſians. Theſe Sages (*b*) were of two ſorts; the *Brachmans* properly ſo called, and the *Germani* or *Samaneans*. The firſt were of a particular family, and the laſt might be of any of the other orders.

When the wife of a Brachman became with child, they preſumed it was a ſon; the chief of the ſect came to congratulate her upon it, to offer up vows at her feet for the proſperity of the birth, and to preſcribe to her rules of wiſdom and temperance during the time of her pregnancy. They formed a judgement of the future merit of the child, from the manner in which ſhe received theſe precepts. As ſoon as a ſon was born, they placed him under the management of men expreſsly ſet apart to watch over the tenderneſs of mothers and nurſes, and prevent them from enervating his temper and conſtitution by too delicate an education. From time to time they made them paſs under the care of different maſters, who began to cul-

(*b*) Porphyr. de Abſtin. l. iv. Indorum Apoc. Strabo. l. xv. p. 712.

tivate

tivate the mind, and examine into their character. Theſe in whom they perceived neither diſpoſition nor inclination to undergo the ſeverity of the regimen of the Brachmans were not obliged to embrace it; but thoſe who came voluntarily into it were carefully inſtructed in the myſteries and dogmas of the ſect.

Their ſchool was kept in a little wood without the city; the moſt ancient Brachman was ſeated upon a throne of ebony; and the gravity with which he delivered his lectures, imprinted ſuch an awe upon the minds of his hearers, that not one of them would have ventured to ſpit or ſpeak during the whole time they laſted. If any one took the liberty, he was turned out of the aſſembly for the reſt of the day, as a diſorderly perſon. The ſubjects which were there treated of required no leſs recollection and attention. They were there taught the neceſſity of continual prayer, and the manner of going through with it, and all that belonged to religion, ſacrifices, and the auguries. They taught philoſophy, the immortality of the ſoul, the motions of the heavenly bodies, the conſtruction of the human body, and the ſecrets of nature. They diſcourſed of every thing relating to government, the laws, the authority of the prince, and the rights of the people. In a word, they gave rules for the conduct of manners, that they might learn to lead a hard and auſtere life, which neither famine, ſolitude, the inclemency of the air, nor the rigour of the ſeaſons ſhould diſturb or incommode.

It

It is not commonly underſtanding that is wanting to man, but man himſelf that is wanting to his underſtanding, as he refuſes to follow it's direction and guidance. But among the Brachmans to be poſſeſſed of a principle, and to practiſe it, were one and the ſame thing. The frequent repetitions which they made of them in their aſſemblies, the mutual example which they ſhewed one another, the reproach to which they were expoſed for the ſmalleſt deviations, and above all, the ambition they had to maintain the dignity and reputation of a ſociety which was reckoned the moſt honourable in the ſtate, made them exact even to a fault.

They were ſeen to paſs the greateſt part of the night and day in prayer, in ſinging ſongs and hymns in honour of the deity, and raiſing their hands to heaven when they offered up their vows for the prince, the people, and the goods of the earth. During the reſt of the day they kept themſelves retired in their cells, where they were employed in meditation on particular truths, in the ſtudy of philoſophy, and in making experiments uſeful to the public. If in that interval they happened to ſpend too much time in converſation with their friends, they impoſed on themſelves the penalty of keeping ſilence for ſeveral days. Faſting and mortification was another exerciſe to which they thought themſelves obliged.

A life thus entirely taken up in prayer and contemplation, attracted the confidence of the people. The offering up of ſacrifices required pure

pure hands, and a prieſt acquainted with it's rites and ceremonies; two advantages which belonged to the Brachmans. On the recollection of the leaſt fault, they purified their face, their hands, their feet, nay ſometimes their whole body, and their cloaths. The ſtudy of religion included that of the ſacrifices, and they were well inſtructed in all it's circumſtances according to the law and cuſtoms of the country. Being religious obſervers of the Metempſichoſis, though we know not who firſt taught them it's principles, they never defiled their altars with blood: they offered up nothing but what they called pure victims (*c*), that is to ſay, incenſe, or ſome other thing of the ſame kind. They alone had the right to make the ſuitable prayers; and if they were not invited to preſide at the oblation, it was believed not to be agreeable to the gods. It was the ſame with reſpect to the auguries and divination (*d*). They alone were permitted to adminiſter at them; and that was only done on public and important occaſions; for they did not reckon the affairs of private perſons worthy their attention. If they were deceived thrice ſucceſſively, they were condemned to a perpetual ſilence, and it was accounted criminal to force them to break it.

They dedicated to philoſophy thoſe hours, which were not taken up in prayer and the exerciſes of religion. Whether from the remains

(*c*) See Philoſtratus in vita Apollonii, lib. viii. c. 7. ſec. 12. p. 347.

(*d*) Arrian, de Indicis, c. 11.

of

of tradition, or the light of nature alone, they acknowledged (*e*) one God creator of the univerſe, who preſided over all it's motions, and filled it with his immenſity. They attributed to the world a ſpherical figure, and placed the earth in it's center. This world, according to their doctrine, was a particular kind of animal which engendered all others. They imagined that water was it's principle of compoſition, and that the heavens and ſtars did not partake of the nature of the four elements. They acknowledged the immortality of the ſoul, and a future judgement which determined their eternal ſtate. From the diſcourſe which one of them, named Calanus, held with Oneſicritus, who had been ſent to him by Alexander, it would appear they had ſome veſtiges among them of the tradition of the innocence in which our firſt parents were created. He talked to him of a happy age, in which the earth ſpontaneouſly opened it's boſom, and produced all things in abundance, in which rivers of milk, honey, water, and wine, were ſeen to flow. But he added, that Jupiter enraged at man for abuſing his gifts, had ſmote the earth with a curſe, and changed it's original fertility into ingrateful barrenneſs, the ſource of all the evils that human nature laboured under.

There were Brachmans who confined themſelves to the ſtudy of the laws and cuſtoms of the nation. As theſe laws were not committed to writing (*f*), there were but few perſons in-

(*e*) Strabo, p. 713. Philoſt. ubi ſupra, c. 7. ſect. 7. & lib. iii. c. 34, & 35. Clem. Alexandrin. Strom. lib. iii.

(*f*) Strabo, p. 716.

ſtructed

ſtructed in them, excepting a certain number of the Brachmans. The prince applied himſelf to them in difficult and extraordinary caſes, to learn from them in what manner he ſhould give judgement. He went (*g*) to the place of their abode, he eat with them herbs, fruits, and lentils, but nothing which had had life; and the ſtatelineſs of thoſe philoſophers was ſuch, that they drew lots for their places, that they might not yield to him the pre-eminence. He thought himſelf too happy if they gave him a gracious reception. They ſuffered him to ſtay with them no longer than a day, and it was only during the night that they gave him audience.

The laſt object of their philoſophy reſpected the regulation of manners. They began their ſtudies, as they ſaid, by the knowledge of themſelves, whether of the mind and diſpoſitions, or of the body. But as their whole conduct manifeſted nothing but an inexhauſtible fund of pride, their lights upon this point were turned into darkneſs. The reſult of their reflections upon themſelves was to be perſuaded, that out of their own ſect, there was nothing but ignorance, effeminacy, and corruption; to believe (*h*) that nothing was concealed from them, not even the thoughts and name of a ſtranger; to pretend to inſpiration from the deity (*i*), and familiar converſation with him; to place themſelves above the reſt of mankind, and to look upon them-

(*g*) Philoſt. lib. III. c. 26, 27, & 33.
(*h*) Philoſt. c. 18.
(*i*) Palladius & S. Ambroſius de moribus Brachmanum.

ſelves

ſelves as gods. The Brachman Iarchus made an expreſs declaration of this kind to Apollonius. To ſuch a paſs did the wiſdom of the pagans conduct them, and the greater it was, it led thither the more directly. Thoſe who did not venture to make theſe profeſſions openly, were as much perſuaded of them in their hearts, and made no doubt of their future apotheoſis.

True it is, that the life of the Brachmans had every thing that was neceſſary to dazzle the eyes of the people. Removed from the noiſe and commerce of men, they dwelt without the cities, in groves or caves, converſing very little with one another; entirely employed in prayer, in ſacrifices, or in ſtudy. They went almoſt always naked (*l*), even in the moſt rigorous ſeaſons of the year, and hence they got the name of Gymnoſophiſts. When they offered up victims they wore a ſort of turban, and a ſmall covering of linen, which they called the habit of ceremony, or the ſacred, together with a ſtaff and a ring, to which they attributed all manner of virtues. They lay upon the bare ground (*m*), or upon ſkins, and lived only on the fruits of the earth, or on milk. They preſerved no more of their harveſt than what was neceſſary for the year, that they might not relax from their labour.

After they had paſſed ſeven and thirty years in this rigid and ſevere manner, they were permitted to dwell in the cities, to make uſe of the

(*l*) Philoſt. Ibid. c. 15.
(*m*) Strabo, p. 718.

common

common pleaſures and comforts of life, to dreſs like the other Indians, to wear ear-rings of gold, or other ornaments, to eat fleſh, provided it was not of an uſeful animal, and to marry ſeveral wives in order to increaſe the number of the Brachmans. But in whatever ſtate they were, they were forbidden to reveal the doctrine and myſteries of the ſect to their wives. For, ſaid they, if they are not diſcreet, they will divulge that which ought not to be known; and if they keep the ſecret, it is to be feared that learning will make them proud, and that they may ſeparate themſelves from their huſbands.

Although they had quitted their former regimen, they were held in equal veneration and eſteem by the people. They were as before exempt from all tribute and taxes, which every other ſubject paid to his ſovereign. They were entitled (*n*) every where to appropriate to themſelves as much of the fruits of the ground as was requiſite, and to have as much oil given them as was neceſſary to anoint their bodies. The great were obliged to receive them at their houſes, and entertain them at their tables, where what they did was a law. It was from amongſt them that the people choſe the greateſt part of the counſellors whom they appointed for the prince.

That pretended ſtrength of mind to which philoſophy carried them, rendered life and death equally indifferent to them. They looked upon the good or the evil, the pleaſure or the pain which might happen to them, as dreams, ſince

(*n*) Strabo, p. 716.

they

they paſſed ſo rapidly from one to the other. But they were aſhamed of thoſe diſtempers which brought a decay upon the body, and diſturbed the operations of the mind, regarding this life as the firſt moment of our conception, and death as the day of our real birth. When they found themſelves attacked by a ſevere indiſpoſition, or worn out with old age, without heſitation they put an end to their days by a voluntary death. They fitted up with their own hands the pile which was to ſerve them as an altar; they aſcended it decked out with their richeſt ornaments; and after having ſung a few hymns, they lay down upon their faces, and ſuffered themſelves to be reduced to aſhes without betraying the leaſt ſign of pain or ſenſibility. What a ſtrange philoſophy was that which led men to their own deſtruction!

The ſecond ſpecies of Brachmans (*o*) was compoſed of ſeveral individuals of different families, who deſired to make profeſſion of that ſect. Theſe were called *Germani* or *Samaneans*: he who wanted to embrace that kind of life, went and made ſuch a declaration to the chief men of the city; he gave in an account of all his effects, and yielded them up to them; on this they charged themſelves with the maintenance of his wife; and the king took care of his children. After this firſt ſtep, he preſented himſelf before the chief of the Samaneans to ſupplicate his admiſſion. There they queſtioned

(*o*) Strabo p. 713. Porphyr. l. iv. de abſtinentia. Philoſt. l. ii. c. 30. Apuleius in Florid.

him on the ſincerity of his reſolution, and the deſire which he had to give himſelf up to the ſtudy and practice of philoſophy. They examined as far back as the third generation of his family, whether there had been any perſon in it to whom arrogance, intemperance, or uſury might be imputed. If no blemiſh was found in their reputation, they enquired into the manners and conduct of the candidate; they tried whether he was endued with a good memory; whether his modeſty was real or pretended; whether he were addicted to wine or good cheer; whether he was of a buffooniſh, confident, haughty, or malevolent diſpoſition; and whether he had always behaved in a docile and tractable manner towards his old maſters.

They differed from the firſt Brachmans in this, that almoſt all of them dwelt beyond the Hyphaſis towards the Ganges, that they had houſes and temples very well ornamented, and that they were entertained at the expence of the prince. They gave notice of public prayer by the ſound of a bell, at which they were very punctual, either in the temple, or in private houſes; and from whence they were not permitted to ſtir till the bell gave notice of it's being over. Then the officers preſented to every one of them, at the expence of the king, a meſs of rice or other vegetables, which they eat before they ſeparated. Their cloaths were made of the barks of trees, or a kind of cotton which grew thereabouts. They lived in ſtrict continency, and never drank wine. Being as well

verſed

verſed as the Brachmans in the laws and the ſacrifices, the prince conſulted them, and they preſided likewiſe at the oblations of the people. They led as rigid a life as they did, and applied themſelves more to magic enchantment and necromancy. Some of them profeſſed to ſerve the public by practiſing medicine, which they reduced almoſt entirely to diet-drinks and fomentations. Theſe made no ſcruple of communicating to the women their moſt valuable diſcoveries.

Theſe extraordinary men aſtoniſhed Alexander more than any thing he met with in his expedition to the Indies. From what he heard of their doctrines and manner of living, he conceived a deſire to ſee ſome of them. The converſation he had with them only increaſed his admiration and his curioſity. He gave orders that the moſt celebrated of that ſociety, named Dindimus, ſhould come before him (*p*); but he was told the Brachman would not come, there being an expreſs law prohibiting him to viſit any perſon of what rank or quality ſoever. Alexander took the method of writing, and told him he had heard ſuch extraordinary things of their doctrine and manner of life, that he earneſtly wiſhed to be informed of them by himſelf, promiſing that if he found all that wiſdom in them he had been made to believe, he would enroll himſelf in the number of their diſciples.

Dindimus anſwered him by letter. "Alexander, the deſire which you ſhew to be made

(*p*) Anonymus in Collectione Londinenſi 1668.

acquainted with wiſdom, makes me believe that you might already be ranked among the ſages. Nothing prevents my regarding you as ſuch, but your immoderate ambition to ſubject under your feet all the human race, and command over the univerſe. The true philoſophy teaches us to ſubmit and receive the law without repining. But your character and your ambitious heart place invincible obſtacles in your way. You deſire I ſhould inſtruct you in our manners and in our uſages; I hardly dare undertake it, becauſe I am ſenſible eloquence is not my talent, and that the continual hurry and exerciſe of arms will not give you leiſure to hear me. I cannot in the mean time diſengage myſelf from the taſk, ſince you demand it of me. But expect not that I ſhall flatter you: truth is our guide, and we know not what it is to wear a diſguiſe.

The life of the Brachmans is as pure as it is ſimple. Pleaſure, the great ſeducer of the reſt of mankind, has no charms for us; our deſires are under the direction of reaſon; conſtantly reſigned to whatever befalls, no murmurs perſpire through our lips, even under the ſevereſt misfortunes. Indifferent as to food, delicacy is only known among us by it's name; nothing is ſeen upon our tables but herbs and vegetables, which the earth produces of itſelf without any care or labour; thus we know nothing of diſeaſes but what we learn from the complaints and experience of others. The pure pleaſure which

which we enjoy is only interrupted by their groans.

Equality places us all in independence; it baniſhes from amongſt us envy, jealouſy, ambition and hatred. We have no tribunals, becauſe we do nothing which deſerves reprehenſion; and the juſtice in which we live has not yet given riſe to the eſtabliſhment of the ſevere laws by which vice is puniſhed among the reſt of mankind. We are even afraid that by introducing them, they ſhould give birth to the thoughts of that evil which they prohibit. Our only law is, not to violate that of nature. Thus ſhunning all manner of reproach, we are not under any neceſſity to pardon others, in the hope we may be entitled to a mutual indulgence. Much leſs do we purchaſe pardon or impunity by the force of money; ſuch an act of grace, granted through avarice, renders the judge more culpable than the criminal.

Amongſt us, idleneſs is ſeverely puniſhed; we dread voluptuouſneſs as the ſource of all frailty. We love labour as it exerciſes our bodies, and we deteſt the man who is a ſlave to his luſts. Our buſineſs has no other object but to procure us neceſſaries; we abhor every other view, and we look upon it as the original of all evil. No land-marks or boundaries are to be ſeen in our fields for the diſtinction of property; we are convinced that is an uſurpation contrary to nature; every one takes what he pleaſes of the products of the earth. We ſuffer the birds to fly unmoleſted, the beaſts to range

the fields (q), and the fiſh to ſwim in the boſom of the waters. We poſſeſs all that we can deſire, becauſe we deſire nothing beyond that which is neceſſary. We dread nothing ſo much as that inſatiable deſire to acquire property, which gives riſe to a thouſand cravings in the heart of man, and makes him poorer from day to day in proportion to the increaſe of his riches.

The ſun warms us; the rain and dew cool us; the rivers quench our thirſt; the herbs and the roots nouriſh us; the earth affords us a bed; anxious cares interrupt not our repoſe; independence delivers us from fear, and all kinds of ſubjection; and we look upon one another as brothers whom nature has rendered equal, and as the children of one ſupreme God, our common Father, who ought to make us partakers of the ſame inheritance.

We know not what it is to hew down foreſts, or to cut rocks in pieces, in order to build houſes; nature has formed caves for that purpoſe. There we fear neither the wind nor the rain, heat nor cold, nor the inclemency of the weather. Theſe natural abodes ſerve us for retreats during life, and for ſepulchres after death. We baniſh from our dreſs every thing that has the leaſt appearance of luxury and effeminacy; the leaves or the bark of trees ſerve to conceal that which decency forbids us to diſcover. Our women are not ſuffered to deck themſelves out

(q) It is certain that in the ages immediately after the deluge, people did not feed upon the fleſh of animals. See Caſaubon's remarks on Athenæus, l. i. c. 2. Huet. Demonſtr. prop. iv. c. 6.

as

as others are; and even ſhould we grant them that liberty, they have other principles, being perſuaded that a vain and pompous attire is more cumberſome than becoming, and that all the art in the world gives no new value to beauty, as it takes nothing from deformity. So many cares then become either ſuperfluous, becauſe they correct no defects; or criminal, becauſe they aim at mending the work of the Creator. Such as our women are, they have all our love; and ſuch crimes as inceſt, adultery, and other impurities, which diſhonour nature, and violate the conjugal union, are never ſo much as named amongſt us.

Our ſociety is the kingdom of gentleneſs and peace. The thought of homicide alone fills us with horror; we never irritate foreigners; we know not how manage arms; it is gentleneſs and not force which preſerves an union between us and our neighbours. Fortune is our only enemy; we have only her to combat againſt; but for the moſt part ſhe ſees the blows which ſhe aims againſt us fall harmleſs to the ground. Careful to do nothing againſt the deſtinies, they ſeldom give us ſubject of complaint. Death alone chagrines us when he comes before the natural decay of old age; in that caſe the father accompanies not the funerals of his ſon. At whatever time we may be carried off, we erect no ſuperb monuments which ſeem to inſult the humble condition of the Manes. What can be more moving or more ſhocking to human nature than the unhappy wrecks of a diſfigured body,

the deſtruction of which we compleat by the flames, that it may not defile the earth!

Be not offended if I compare theſe out-lines of our picture with thoſe which compoſe yours. With what devaſtations have you not already laid waſte the univerſe? Eager in the purſuit of riches and ambition, what oceans of blood have you not ſhed by your own hands, or thoſe of others? You raviſh the children from their fathers; you deprive them of the rites of ſepulture; you violate the tombs; you run with impetuoſity towards that quarter where the ſun riſes, as if you could ſtop it's courſe with your hand. You overturn thrones; you drag captive kings in chains to adorn your triumphs. Of free citizens you make ſlaves, and, by the ſame caprice, ſet ſlaves at liberty. You fancy that you conquer cities when you bribe their governors. No doubt, you flatter yourſelf that you ſhall corrupt in the ſame manner the guardian, and then the god of the infernal regions.

I ſet your picture no longer before your eyes, that I may continue my talk of inſtructing you in our manners. We are entirely unacquainted with thoſe tumultuous aſſemblies, thoſe games and ſhews which are your delight. To what purpoſe would your comedians ſerve, in the midſt of a people who entertain a ſovereign contempt for their profeſſion, and who do nothing which can be turned into ridicule? No ſcenes of cruelty paſs amongſt us proper to furniſh matter for your tragedies. The Brachmans would be moved to indignation if they ſaw the youth expoſed

poſed to wild beaſts; or ſtrong and robuſt men attack, beat, and knock one another in the head in cold blood. The heavens ſupply us with our favourite ſpectacle; we admire with joy their order, their oeconomy, regularity, and motion; we are tranſported when we behold the ſun flying in his purple car, ſpreading through every region his beaming rays of light, and returning every year to the place from whence he departed. From the heavens we paſs to the view of nature, whoſe works appear to us equally beautiful, admirable, and incomprehenſible. The ſinging of the birds, the fountains, a flower, the ſtalk of an herb, raviſh us, and afford an inexhauſtible fund of reflection.

Contented with the natural growth of our own country, we wander not elſewhere in ſearch of the different rarities which an unknown ſky and climate produce. Nothing affects us but that which is convenient for us. We deſpiſe the flowers of your eloquence, and we condemn it as a pernicious art, only made uſe of to give falſhood the appearance of truth, to ſcreen villainy, to accuſe innocence, and ſometimes to juſtify parricide. All our eloquence conſiſts in being ſincere, and adhering ſtrictly to the truth.

This is an abridgment of our manners, and here follow the articles of our belief. The Brachmans hold it as a maxim, never to defile their ſacrifices with blood, by ſlaughtering innocent victims; they adorn not their temples with gold or ſilver, or the ſplendor of precious ſtones. They think it would be inſulting the

Deity

Deity ſhould they attempt to give him that which he does not want; or to ſhew themſelves as powerful as he, in oſtentatiouſly diſplaying all the riches which he could have. God requires that we ſhould honour him with a pure, and not a bloody, worſhip; and to be rendered propitious by the prayers and humiliations of men. He is that Word itſelf (*r*) by which he has created the viſible world, by which he preſerves it, governs it, and keeps it in being. He is a pure Spirit, and conſequently requires nothing but the offering of our good works, of our virtues and virtuous actions.

After this declaration of our religion, compare it with your own, or, at leaſt, ſuffer me to do it. I cannot endure that blindneſs you are involved in, which prevents you from acknowledging that your origin proceeds from heaven, and unites you intimately with the Supreme Being. You can ſee no greatneſs but in being deſcended from an illuſtrious race; you degrade the nobleneſs of your firſt birth, and refer every thing to the fleſh; in that you fix your whole delight. You cheriſh it with the utmoſt care; you pamper it, and love nothing but it; and what is a ſtill greater crime, you think it worthy of being offered up in ſacrifice to the immortal Mind. You know not that God who Is, and you adore an infinite number of others who

(*r*) Nam Verbum Deus eſt, hoc mundum creavit, hoc regit & alit omnia. Hoc nos veneramur, hoc diligimus, ex hoc ſpiritum trahimus; ſi quidem ipſe Deus, Spiritus eſt atque Mens. Origen attributes to them the ſame ſentiments. In philoſophicis apud Gronov. antiq. Græc. tom. x.

are

are not. You place ſome in heaven, to whom you aſcribe the care of preſiding over different parts of the body. Minerva reſides in the brain, as in the ſeat of wiſdom; Juno reſtrains the impetuous motions of the heart; Mercury, your god of eloquence, reſides upon your lips; Hercules communicates ſtrength to your limbs; Cupid inſpires you with ſentiments of tenderneſs; Bacchus gives you taſte; Ceres digeſts your aliments; Venus procures fertility; Jupiter opens the organs of reſpiration; and Apollo, ſo renowned for his addreſs, guides your fingers upon inſtruments of muſic, and in performing curious pieces of workmanſhip.

What divinities are theſe, whoſe power is confined within ſuch narrow bounds, and who either cannot, or will not, undertake their mutual functions! Their oppoſition diſplays itſelf even in the worſhip which you render them. A bull muſt be offered to Jupiter, a peacock to Juno, a wild boar to Mars, a he-goat to Bacchus, a ſwan to Apollo, a dove to Venus, an owl to Minerva, cakes to Ceres, and honey to Mercury. Hercules requires branches of poplar upon his ſtatues and altars, and Cupid loves nothing but roſes. You cannot alter that order without incurring their diſpleaſure. Behold again the oppoſition of their characters; they ſeem to be leagued together to torment you. One calls you to war, another to pleaſure; this to the cares of traffick, and that to good chear. All of them enjoin you that which they love themſelves; they invite you to it, they preſs you, they ſolicit you, and

and leave you no reſt till you have obeyed them. Are theſe the gods who ought to procure happineſs to human nature? Confeſs the truth; they are only your paſſions which you have deified.

You will be ſenſible of this yourſelves in thoſe divinities with which you have filled the infernal regions. It is eaſy to point out your own crimes under theſe dignified ſymbols. The furies are only your own impure thoughts; Tiſiphonè the ſtings of a guilty conſcience; Tantalus your inſatiable cupidity. Cerberus expreſſes the puniſhments of gluttony; the Hydra, your vices which ſpring up freſh every inſtant; the head of the viper, your enormous crimes; Pluto himſelf, in falling from heaven, teaches you, that like him you have degenerated in forgetting the only Being from whom you derive your exiſtence. Unhappy people! whoſe religion conſtitutes your crime in life, and your puniſhment after death." Alexander made no anſwer to the Brachman, but by accuſing him of pride and impiety.

Thoſe who held the ſecond rank after thoſe ſocieties of ſages (*s*), were the huſbandmen. They compoſed the moſt numerous body of the ſtate; and the great ſervices they rendered to the public, together with their extreme probity, made them be very much reſpected. Whatever wars happened in the kingdom, whether foreign or domeſtic, they were never obliged to carry arms; and the enemies could not diſturb

(*s*) Megaſthenes, apud Strab. p. 704. & ſeq. & Arrian. de Indicis, c. 11. & ſeq.

them

them in their labour, without violating the right of nations in a capital point. It was no uncommon ſight to behold on one ſide of the ſame field a moſt bloody battle; and on the other, men tilling the ground without being expoſed to the leaſt inſult. The regard that was paid them, exempted them from all charges and offices in the public ſervice; a privilege only granted to that order. As the property of all the lands belonged to the king, they were in reality only his farmers, and they reſerved for him the fourth part of the harveſt.

The third claſs was that of the ſhepherds, who were entruſted with the great and ſmall cattle, and who alone were allowed to breed, to ſell, or to hire horſes. They had likewiſe another charge no leſs conſiderable; that was the chace. The Indies were filled with lions, tigers, elephants, birds of prey, and other noxious animals. The neceſſity there was to clear the country of them, that men might live in ſafety, gave riſe to the permiſſion and excluſive right which the ſhepherds had to hunt. Beſides the revenue which they drew from thence, the king granted them every year a certain quantity of corn, by way of recompence for their deſtroying the birds, which otherwiſe would have carried off the greateſt part of the ſeed, and laid waſte the harveſt. The greateſt part of the elephants was the product of their hunting; but as that wandering life hindered them from dwelling in the cities and villages; their ordinary habitation was in the woods and mountains,

tains, where their flocks did no harm to the culture of the lands.

In the fourth claſs were the mechanics and the merchants. They paid the prince a certain tax for leave to exerciſe their employment, and to trade, except thoſe who wrought in making of arms, and building ſhips of war; theſe were paid for their labour. The general of the army and the admiral of the fleet were the only miniſters who managed that department.

The fifth claſs comprehended the officers and ſoldiers. They were entirely employed in the preſervation of the ſtate, and of the public tranquillity; they had no other care or buſineſs, and they were obliged to take arms at the firſt ſignal. The king furniſhed them with lodging; but as to what regarded their living, the maintenance of their families, or the war, was the province of the people. Every one contributed in kind according to his condition: ſome gave elephants, others horſes; thoſe furniſhed proviſions, and thoſe arms. The Megallians (*t*), a people beyond the Hyphaſis, maintained five hundred elephants, and a conſiderable number of troops; the Chryſeans, the Aſangi, and the Paraſangi, ſubjects of the ſame prince, kept conſtantly on foot an army of thirty thouſand men, eight hundred horſe, and three hundred elephants. After the war, they returned to their towns, where they buſied themſelves entirely in military exerciſes, altho' they had already given up their arms and their horſes.

(*t*) Plin. hiſt. nat. l. vi. c. 20.

The

The ſixth claſs was that of the inſpectors. Theſe had the ſuperintendance of all the reſt, both in the city and the country; they had the care of arts and commerce, every one in his proper diſtrict; they kept an eye over the perfection and good management of the one and the other; they gave an account of their commiſſion to the king, if the government was monarchical; and to the chief magiſtrates of the cities, if it was republican. We ſhould never enough admire the wiſdom of the Indians, could we believe what hiſtorians relate of theſe officers: That they were never known to prevaricate in their adminiſtration, to deceive the prince by falſe reports, to calumniate the good, or protect the guilty. India then muſt have been poſſeſſed by men who had no paſſions, and ſuch as the firſt man came out of the hands of his Creator. To eaſe theſe inſpectors, there were women employed to have an eye over their own ſex, to reſtrain their luxury, and regulate their morals, and to make report to the ſovereign.

We may know from the diſtribution of thoſe officers, what was the police of the realm. Some (*u*) had the inſpection of the country, others of the city, and others again of the ſoldiery.

This country was liable to the ſame inundations with Egypt, and perhaps they were here more conſiderable. Whether from the ſnows (*x*) of Paropamiſa, Caucaſus, mount Imaus, and the Emodes, or from the great quantity of rains that

(*u*) Strabo, p. 707.
(*x*) Arrian. de exped. Alex. l. v. c. 9.

fell

fell in the months of April, May, and June (y), it is certain, that in that ſeaſon the country was covered with water; and that after they had gone off, it was difficult to diſtinguiſh the limits which divided the lands of each individual. To prevent diſputes which might thence ariſe, there were men in all the cantons, perfectly well acquainted with thoſe matters, who marked over again thoſe limits of the fields that had been effaced. As they preſerve in Egypt a part of theſe waters in great lakes (z), to ſpread them afterwards over the land during thoſe months in which there were no rains; it was the office of theſe inſpectors to open theſe repoſitories when neceſſary, and diſtribute the waters in ſufficient quantity. They had moreover an eye over the hunting of the ſhepherds, over thoſe who wrought in the mines and in the foreſts; they levied the taxes; took care of the great roads, and planted guides at every half league, to ſhew travellers the way, to tell them the diſtances from place to place, and to inform them where they might put up to reſt.

Thoſe who lived in the cities were divided into ſix claſſes. Some had the inſpection of trades and handicrafts; and every profeſſion had it's particular ſuperintendants. Others had the care of the public inns; they conducted all ſtrangers thither, took cognizance of the cauſe of their journey, and ſuffered them not to ſtay

(y) That is the winter of this country; and the ſummer begins about the end of September. I ſhall ſpeak of this more at length in the ſecond part.

(z) This is ſtill practiſed. Taver. tom. iii. p. 127. & aliis.

above

above three days (a) in the same city. They took care that nothing should be done contrary to good manners; they visited the sick, and examined if there was any reason to apprehend a contagious distemper; they were charged with the care of burying the dead, and the execution of wills. Others kept a register of the births and deaths of all the citizens; they set down the places, the time, and the circumstances. These examined the measures, the weights, and nature of commerce. They suffered no merchants to sell two different commodities, unless he paid a double duty. Those again looked into the wages of workmen, and into every thing that was hired, marking every article with a particular seal, to prevent disputes, or it's being changed. Lastly, there were those who had no other business than to gather in the revenues of the princes; but, what appears very reasonable, they never taxed a merchant, or a tradesman, but for what he sold, having no regard to the total valuation of his effects. If any one was convicted of fraud or dissimulation in declaring that he had sold less than he had really done, he was punished with death.

The order which was observed among those who presided over the affairs of war, was not less to be admired. Some had the care of the vessels necessary for the passage of rivers, others that of a certain number of beasts of burden for the transportation of provisions and baggage;

(a) Philost. l. ii. c. 20.

theſe had the charge of the arms and warlike machines; thoſe of the ſoldiers; ſome of the chariots, and others of the elephants.

It is ſurpriſing that thoſe who compoſed the council of the prince ſhould be thrown back into the ſeventh and laſt claſs. Placed neareſt the throne, they partook of it's cares and honours; they entered into every deliberation; their authority ſometimes overtopt that of the ſcepter; they pronounced upon life and death; and poſſeſſed the firſt dignities of the ſtate.

Theſe ſenators appeared ſo much the more illuſtrious and reſpectable, that their families had been in poſſeſſion of theſe titles from time immemorial. For ſuch was the conſtitution of the realm, that none were permitted to paſs from one claſs to another, not even by marriage; a huſbandman could not become an artizan, nor he again enter into trade, or become a ſoldier. A wiſe regulation, by which the ſons profited of the improvements of their parents, added new ones to them, were born that which they ought to be, endeavoured to diſtinguiſh their families, and could not fail to carry the art to perfection.

Theſe diviſions of the ſtates ſubſiſt to this day; and it is that which the Indians call *Caſtes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Character and Manners of the Indians.

ANCIENT tradition (*b*) repreſents the firſt Indians as a ſavage and barbarous nation, like to the Scythians, who paid no regular worſhip to the Deity; who had no temples; were unacquainted with the laws and benefits of ſociety; neglected to cultivate the ground, or were ignorant of the manner of doing it; and lived only by their bow and javelin, and rather devoured than eat raw fleſh. That was, according to the Greeks, the life of the Indians till Bacchus entered their country, and brought about an entire change in it. His conqueſt gave birth to their happineſs. He made them ſenſible of the wretchedneſs and ſhame of a life which diſgraced human nature, and of the pleaſures of ſocial commerce; and after he had perſuaded them of theſe truths, he gave them laws, princes, and gods (*c*).

Whatever may be in this account, and at whatever time the thing happened, it is certain, that when Alexander entered India, he found the people in general very well civilized, acquainted with all the arts uſeful or neceſſary to life, formed to the profeſſion of arms, dwell-

(*b*) Arrian. in Indicis, c. 7.

(*c*) It is needleſs to take notice to the learned, that all this is in the ſtyle of the Greeks.

ing in cities completely fortified, and governed by wiſe laws. The ſmall number of hiſtorians of that age now extant, afford us ſufficient matter for a deſcription of them.

Even thoſe (*d*) who profeſs to reject thoſe fables which diſfigure their hiſtory, aſſure us that the Indians were of an extraordinary ſtature, and that the moſt of them were five cubits, or ſeven feet and a half in height; none of them give leſs to Porus (*e*). In the lower provinces along the river Indus (*f*), the men were black as in Ethiopia, with this difference only, that the Indians had long and ſtreight hair, and the Ethiopians very ſhort and curled. They ſuffered their beards to grow, and reckoned them amongſt their fineſt ornaments. Some painted them white (*g*), others blood red, theſe ſcarlet, and thoſe purple, green, or other colours. Their habits were different. In ſome places they retained the uſe of lions and tigers ſkins; in other places they were covered with a large piece of ſtuff, which reached from the head down to the knees; and the ſoldiers wore a turban and a very light coat. Their cloaths, of whatever form they were, moſt commonly were white, made of wool, of bark, or of that cotton which grew around certain trees,

(*d*) Arrian. l. v. c. 4.

(*e*) Ibid. c. 9. Plut. in Alex. Q. Curt. l. viii. Philoſt. l. ii. c. 4.

(*f*) Arrian. l. v. c. 4. in Indicis, c. 6. Cteſias apud Laurentium Rhodomannum, n. 23. Herod. l. iii. c. 101. Strabo, p. 690.

(*g*) Nearchus apud Arrian. Indicis, cap. 16. Pompon. Mel. l. iii. de India.

and

and which has ſometimes been called flax, altho' that plant, ſuch as we now have it, does not grow in the Indies. The rich were diſtinguiſhed by the ivory pendants at their ears, by their purple robes, by white or parti-coloured ſhoes, and by an umbrella which they carried over their heads, the country ſo near the tropic being much hotter than our's. But when the Greeks, the remains of Alexander's army, introduced not only their own luxury, but what they had learned among the Perſians, they became greater lovers of magnificence, and ornaments, than all the other Orientals (*b*). Henceforth the Indians began to load their garments with gold and precious ſtones, and to make uſe of every thing the moſt ſhowy that their country afforded.

It would ſeem notwithſtanding, that the introduction of that kind of pomp corrupted only the eyes, without altering at the bottom that love of virtue, ſincerity, order, peace and temperance, which conſtituted the character of the Indians.

By the name of virtue, they underſtood nothing but a certain greatneſs of ſoul which deſpiſes dangers and death, and has glory only for it's object; which tramples under foot eaſe and the pleaſures of life; which ſeeks after the eſteem and admiration of mankind; which teſtifies horror for groſs vices, and devotes itſelf to the good of the ſtate, or to ſome particular laws which it has preſcribed to itſelf. Theſe external appearances are dazzling; and when we are

(*b*) Strabo, p. 705. Q. Curt. lib. viii. cap. 9.

ignorant, that it is the heart alone which can ſtamp a value upon it, we fail not to be deceived, and to render to the phantom of virtue, that homage which belongs to virtue itſelf. This is not leſs the effect of misfortune than of error. From hence proceeded that reſpect of the Indians for their Brachmans, whom they regarded as their oracles, from whom they expected all the fruit of their ſacrifices; that they conſulted them in their doubts, and honoured them as gods: from hence the honours which they paid to Alexander when they became acquainted with his valour, his conqueſts, and the clemency with which he treated the vanquiſhed. Porus oppoſed him with a generoſity worthy of the greateſt mind; and his defeat, ſo far from diminiſhing, increaſed their eſteem for him. The Indians ſeized with admiration of theſe two heroes, erected one common trophy (*i*), which equally proclaimed the glory of the one and the other. Seduced by the impoſtures and addreſs of Apollonius Tyaneus, the kings took him for a divine perſon, and thought themſelves honoured when they received him at their tables; the ſages heard him with veneration, and looked upon him as their teacher and example.

The ſame regard for virtue gave being to that law, which ordained that ſuperintendants, appointed for that purpoſe, ſhould enter into every citizen's houſe after his death (*l*), in order to

(*i*) Philoſtratus in vita Apollonii, l. ii. cap. 42.
(*l*) Ibid. c. 30.

write

write an account of his principal actions, and of his character, that the reputation of the good and the bad might not be confounded together. The judgment they made muſt be formed with the ſtricteſt rigour; and if the officers who made the deciſion, were convicted of a failure in ſincerity, they were declared infamous, and incapable of bearing office ever after. But we owe them this teſtimony after all the ancients, that it was extremely rare, to find them guilty of a falſe report. They erected no monuments to the dead (*m*), out of a perſuaſion, that their character ought to ſtand in place of a tomb.

They loved order, and were naturally led to every thing that could maintain it. It was not from foreign nations that the Indians had learned that which ſubſiſted among them. Shut up, as it were, in a world by itſelf, they knew not what was doing elſewhere; and no where were people governed by wiſer laws. It was well imagined in Egypt, Rome, and Sparta, to range the people in different claſſes; but they had not entered into that detail which provided for every thing, and ſuffered the prince to be ignorant of nothing: much leſs were the different eſtates regulated as in the Indies. They knew there the price, and the quality of the cloaths for every condition (*n*); and no body could enter a city, or go upon a journey with an equipage above his rank. The great lords travelled like the

(*m*) Arrian. de Indicis, c. 10.
(*n*) Cteſias, in Indicis, c. 23.

prince upon an elephant (o); thoſe of the ſecond order might have an equipage with four horſes; thoſe of the third were mounted upon camels; and the common people might go a horſeback or upon aſſes.

In thus repreſſing ambition how many evils were prevented! It is in it's boſom that diſcord has it's birth, and is nouriſhed. No law-ſuits were ſuffered among the Indians. When any difference happened between private perſons, they were obliged to lay it before the prince, who determined it in a public audience with his council. There were no advocates, judges, or courts among them: and by conſequence, none of theſe animoſities which the tediouſneſs and malignity of the law perpetuates in families. The kings in this gave an example to their ſubjects. Altho' they had always troops on foot, they ſeldom brought them into the field; and except in the battle with Porus, who had the character of loving war, there was no dexterity or experience in the military art perceived among the Indians; it was their numbers, their love of liberty, and their courage, which made the reſiſtance, and procured them the title of a warlike people.

In ſo happy a climate, it was eaſy to live with delicacy, and to have tables as plentiful, and as well covered, as among the Perſians. But the love of temperance, and the received religion

(o) Arrian. de Indicis, c. 13.

regulated

regulated theſe things. Inſtead of wine (*p*) which is not to be found in the Indies, they uſed a kind of beer made of rice, or the liquor of the cocoa-tree; but as either are very intoxicating, they were not in common uſe, but in ſacrifices, and at the king's table, and that in very ſmall quantity. For if the prince drank to exceſs, it was lawful for the women who ſerved him to kill him in his drunkenneſs (*q*); and ſhe who ſtruck the blow, by way of recompence was married to the ſucceſſor to the throne. Their ordinary drink was milk and water (*r*). The ſyſtem of the metempſychoſis generally received, reduced them to the ſimple fruits of the earth, by retrenching the uſe of all animals; but thoſe who qualified it, allowed themſelves the lion, the tiger, ſome other animals, and fiſh, without being yet acquainted with the delicacies of ſeaſoning (*s*). In conformity to the ſimplicity of their repaſts, they had no other beds than mats, or ſkins, which they ſpread on the bare ground (*t*). Their houſes were very low (*u*), made of planks or bulruſhes, and covered with the ſhells of the tortoiſe.

Among all theſe cuſtoms, there are few which do not redound to the praiſe of the Indians, but

(*p*) Strabo, p. 709. Athen. Deipn. lib. xii. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. & l. xiv. c. 18. Philoſt. l. ii. c. 7.
(*q*) Oneſic. apud Strab. p. 710.
(*r*) Cteſias, Indicis.
(*s*) Mela, l. iii. Arrian. l. v. c. 4. Phil. l. iii. c. 27, & l. ii. c. 6.
(*t*) Cteſias, Indicis, c. 23.
(*u*) Arrian. Indicis, c. 10. Plin. lib. vi. c. 22.

the

the ſentiments ſome of them entertained of death cannot be excuſed. They looked upon it with ſuch indifference as muſt be a ſhock to nature, if reaſon and religion teach not to hope a better ſtate. We are already acquainted with the barbarous cuſtom of the Brachmans to ſhorten their days by fire. That pretended ſtrength of mind ſeduced a great many others, who placed their glory in following their example; and as the cuſtom of the country was to burn and not to bury the dead, the women threw themſelves into the ſame pile which conſumed their huſband, to teſtify the grief they felt at his death, and to give him the laſt proof of their fidelity. When he left ſeveral wives behind him, ſhe who would be thought to have loved him beſt, ran and threw herſelf the firſt into the flames. If there were any who refuſed to follow the ordinary cuſtom, they lived in diſgrace, and after death were abandoned to the beaſts of the field. If we believe the ancients (*x*), they themſelves had given occaſion to this cruel alternative. It had been found, that many were ſo cruel as to poiſon their huſbands in the hope of eſpouſing others. The neceſſity there was to put a ſtop to an abuſe, which began to grow as common as it was enormous, occaſioned the magiſtrates to make an order, that every woman who ſurvived her huſband ſhould be obliged to follow him to the pile. Thus what in it's original was only a teſti-

(*x*) Strabo, p. 699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 561, & 678. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9. Mela, l. iii. de India.

mony

mony of friendſhip or greatneſs of ſoul, became afterwards an inviolable law; and is at this day (y) an article of religion. We ſhall ſpeak of this in the ſecond part.

Some other laws which remain of this people, ſhew what was their notion of juſtice, and at the ſame time, the ſeverity of their ancient diſcipline. He who was known to have depoſed in juſtice contrary to truth (z), was condemned to have the extremities of his hands and feet cut off. He who had deprived a citizen of the uſe of any member, ſuffered firſt the puniſhment of a repriſal, and loſt afterwards the hand which committed the injury. He who had cut off the arm, or put out the eye of a tradeſman, was puniſhed with death. And he who diſcovered a poiſon, without finding out it's antidote, was treated in the ſame manner.

CHAP. VI.

The Animals of the Indies.

IT is not in men alone that the difference of talents and diſpoſitions is remarkable; all nature is full of ſimilar examples. Every climate is not proper for every fruit; happy is that which produces the beſt. It is true, that the country of the Indies is deficient in ſome of the conveniencies of life; but this loſs is amply made up by

(y) Hiſtory of the voyage of John Hughes, c. 36.
(z) Strabo, p. 710.

the

the great abundance of all that is neceſſary, and of ſeveral things that are peculiar to it, which draw thither all the other nations of the world, either to admire it's curioſities, or to make a profit of it's riches and fertility. For there is none of them, but whom either neceſſity or luxury lead to the Indies; but the Indians are not like them, obliged to go any where elſe to give proofs of their indigence. They can even boaſt with juſtice, that they have more rarities than all other nations together. Of this every one will be convinced, when he is acquainted with the nature of ſome animals which are familiar to them, and of the fruits which they gather in their fields.

No other countries in the world but the Indies, and ſome ſouthern provinces in Africa, produce elephants (*a*); but the Indian are much better than the African in quality (*). This animal, the largeſt, and the moſt extraordinary in it's nature, which the earth produces, deſerves to be conſidered in the firſt place. As ſavage of itſelf as the tiger or the lion, it muſt be hunted like other wild beaſts, and there were none among the Indians but the ſhepherds who had that permiſſion. They encloſed by a large and a deep ditch, a plain about a quarter of a league in circumference (*b*), where they built a bridge

(*a*) Bochart has treated this ſubject at large, Hiero. part I. l. ii.

(*) Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 39.

(*b*) Strabo, l. xv. c. 704. Arrian. Indicis, c. 13. Plin. l. viii. c. 8. Philoſt. l. ii. c. 6. Memoirs of the Academy, t. iii. part 3. Ryiſch. Theat. Animal. Although this work is properly Johnſton's, yet I ſhall quote it under the name of Ryiſch it's editor.

of

of wood, and hovels into which they might retire. Into this enclosure they carried some tame female elephants, who drew the wild ones thither in the night time (c). As soon as they had entered, the hunters retired out of the enclosure, drew off the bridge, and went into the neighbouring villages to seek for aid. Several days after, when they saw them weakened with hunger and thirst, they returned upon tame elephants, with which they pursued and harrassed them, until they had exhausted their force. Then they bridled them, and made incisions about their mouth, and round their neck, to render them more sensible, and to stop them when they made too violent a motion; afterwards they mounted and drove them into stables by the force of blows.

In other places, after having driven them out of the woods, they pursued them during the whole day (d), and at evening drove them back to their retreats. In the mean time, the hunters who staid behind had set the forest on fire. The elephants, who are extremely terrified at fire, struck with the sight of the flames, remained in such an astonishment, that they suffered themselves to be easily taken; and then they beat them till they were tamed. Nevertheless, they were not entirely overcome. They found it necessary to fasten them to pillars, and break them anew by blows and hunger (e).

(c) See Mandelslo's voyage to the Indies, p. 319.
(d) Ælian. de animal. natura, lib. vii. c. 6.
(e) Arrian. Strabo, ubi supra, & Ælian, l. x. c. 18.

Some

Some of them fell into a languor, and they were obliged to diſſipate their melancholy by ſinging, and the ſound of ſome inſtrument.

The lovers of natural philoſophy will not be diſpleaſed to read an account of two hunting-matches, to which the king of Siam invited the Abbè de Choiſy and Father Tachard; it will confirm the truth of what the ancients have related. We have been this morning, ſays the Abbè *(f)*, at the hunting of elephants; a diverſion truly royal. The great encloſure was above twenty leagues in circumference. There were two rows of fires burning the whole night; and at every fire, at ten paces diſtance, two men with pikes. From time to time great elephants of war, and ſmall pieces of cannon made their appearance. Armed men entered into the encloſure, by little and little they gained ground, and the ſpace was ſtreightened. The fires, the cannon, and the elephants advance, till they are ſo near the wild elephants as to throw nooſes upon them, in which their legs are entangled. As ſoon as one is taken, the elephants of war, who are bred to that, place themſelves at his ſides, and if he is unruly, give him ſmart ſtrokes with their tuſks, and yet without wounding them; others puſh them from behind. The men faſten ropes about them on all ſides, then mount upon them, and lead them to a poſt, to which they remain bound till they become as tame as ſheep. We ſaw twenty

(f) Journal of a voyage to Siam, p. 479.

taken

taken in this manner. The king was mounted upon an elephant of war, and gave the orders. It was he who revived this manner of hunting, which had fallen into diſuſe. M. Conſtance (the king's miniſter) told me, that the prince has at preſent two thouſand elephants of war, and fifty-five thouſand men on foot.

About a quarter of a league from Louve, Father Tachard writes (*g*), there is a kind of amphitheatre, of a ſquare figure, ſurrounded with high terraſſed walls, upon which the ſpectators place themſelves. Along the inſide of theſe walls is a paliſade of large pillars, fixed in the ground at the diſtance of two feet from one another, behind which the hunters retire when they are purſued by the enraged elephants. They have made a very large opening towards the country; and oppoſite to it, on the ſame ſide with the town, a ſmaller one, which leads to a narrow alley, thro' which an elephant can paſs with difficulty, which ends in a kind of large thicket, where their breaking is completed.

On the day appointed for the chace, the hunters enter into the woods, mounted on female elephants bred to that exerciſe, and covered over with leaves that they may not be ſeen by the wild elephants. When they are advanced into the foreſt, and judge they may be near their haunts, they cauſe the females to make a certain cry proper to attract the males, who immedi-

(*g*) Voyage to Siam, l. v. p. 298.

ately

ately answer by frightful howlings. Then the hunters perceiving themselves at a proper distance, return back the same way, and lead the she-elephants softly to the side of the amphitheatre, to which the wild ones never fail to follow them. That one whom we saw tamed entered with them, and as soon as he was in, they shut the barriers. The females continued their way across the amphitheatre, and one after another passed thro' the small alley at the other end. The elephant who had followed them so far, stopt at the entrance, and they put every thing in practice to engage him farther. They caused the females who were beyond the alley to cry to him; some Siamese provoking him by clapping their hands, and crying several times *Pat, Pat*; while others teazed him with long pointed staves; and when they were pursued they retired behind the palisade; at last, he fixed upon one who staid out on purpose, and threw himself into the alley. The elephant runs in after him, but as soon as he was entered, they let fall two portcullices, one before, and another behind him. The animal finding that he could go neither backwards nor forwards, nor turn himself about, made surprising efforts, and sent forth dreadful cries. They endeavoured to soften him by throwing buckets of water on his body, rubbing him with leaves, and pouring oil upon his ears, and they brought some male and female elephants about him, who caressed him with their trunks. In the mean time, they fixed ropes below his belly and to his hind feet, in order

order to draw him from thence: and brought one of thoſe tame elephants which are accuſtomed to teach the new-comers. An officer was mounted upon him, who made him advance and retire, to ſhew the wild elephant that he had nothing to fear, and that he might with ſafety come out. They opened the port, and he followed the other to the end of the alley. When he was got there, they placed at his ſide two elephants, which they bound faſt to him. Another marched before, and drew him with a rope in the way which they wanted him to take, while a fourth made him advance with a great ſtroke of his head which he gave him behind, into a kind of thicket, where they bound him to a great pillar made on purpoſe, which turns round like the capſtain of a ſhip. They left him there till next day, that his fury might paſs off. But while he was tormenting himſelf around this pillar, a Brachman dreſſed in white came to him, mounted on an elephant, and turning gently round about him, ſprinkled him with a certain water conſecrated after their manner, which he carried in a golden veſſel. They believe that this ceremony makes the elephant loſe his natural ferocity, and renders him fit for the king's ſervice. After the ſecond day he began to go with the reſt, and at the end of fifteen he was entirely tamed.

Notwithſtanding the enormous bulk of this animal, being twenty feet in circumference, he is of a docility and ingenuity approaching to the human intelligence. He is ſuſceptible of love, affection, and gratitude, to ſuch a degree, as to

pine away with grief when he has loſt his keeper. He is obſerved to be tranſported with grief, and ready to kill himſelf, when in a furious moment, he has killed or treated him ill.

This tenderneſs is obſervable on different occaſions. The abſence of their mate contributes more than any thing elſe to tame them, and to make them forget their natural ſtrength; for it is alledged that they never place their affections on a ſecond. There are places where they are taken in deep ditches, the ſurface whereof they cover ſlightly over. When the mother perceives her young one is fallen in (*h*), the anxiety which ſhe feels, and the love which ſhe bears him, makes her throw herſelf into the ſame ſnare, altho' inſtinct informs her, that there ſhe muſt loſe her liberty, and perhaps her life. She never abandons him in danger, and ſuffers herſelf to be killed firſt. When ſhe is obliged to paſs a river (*i*), ſhe takes him on her trunk, and quits him not till ſhe has got to the other ſide. If he is able to ſwim, he takes the water firſt, leſt the huge bulk of the reſt ſhould make it ſwell, and render the paſſage more difficult. If they meet with one in the fields who is ſick or wounded, they do him all imaginable good offices, ſeeking herbs and other remedies to comfort him. If he dies, they do not leave his body expoſed; they inter it, and cover the grave with branches of trees.

(*h*) Ælian. l. ix. c. 8.
(*i*) Idem, l. vii. c. 15. Plin. l. viii. c. 5. Philoſt. l. ii. c. 14 & 15.

They

They were trained to have a veneration for the prince worthy of his majesty. As soon as they saw him (*l*), they bent their knees to worship him after the manner of the Orientals, and raised themselves up immediately after. Some kings of the Indies kept twenty of them who in time of war guarded their tent by turns; and in battle they had not more zealous defenders. That which is related of the elephant of Porus, is almost incredible. That animal perceiving his master exhausted by the wounds with which he was covered (*m*), lowered himself that he might let him down without hurting him, and pulled out with his trunk the arrows with which he was all stuck over. But seeing that he was losing all his blood, he took him again upon his back, and carried him to his camp.

Ælian (*n*) relates a parallel instance of an Indian lord. He had found a young white elephant which he bred up with great care. That animal served him for his ordinary riding, and gave him all the marks of the most tender friendship. The king being informed of his mildness and ingenuity, asked him for himself; but the lord to whom he belonged could not think of parting with him, and to shun the consequences of his refusal, fled to the mountains. He was pursued thither by order of the prince; and getting on the top of a rock he sustained a long assault,

(*l*) Philost. l. xiii. c. 22. Plin. l. viii. c. 1.
(*m*) Plin. l. xiii. c. 22. & Q. Curt. l. viii. c. ult.
(*n*) Lib. iii. c. 46.

parrying the arrows and defending himſelf by throwing of ſtones, in which he was perfectly well ſeconded by his elephant, who alſo threw them with all imaginable dexterity. Yet the ſoldiers mounted in ſpite of that generous reſiſtance. Then the animal full of fury threw himſelf amongſt them, overturned many with his trunk, daſhed them in pieces, put the reſt to flight, took up his wounded maſter, and carried him off. What a reproach is this, adds the ſame naturaliſt, to thoſe ingrateful men, who having received their education, and perhaps their ſubſiſtence, from thoſe who had taken them into their friendſhip, notwithſtanding abandon them whenever they behold them languiſhing under the frowns of fortune! Such men are at beſt the friends of our proſperity and favours, who value us, only as we are uſeful to them.

When Pyrrhus entered the city of Argos by force, one of his ſoldiers mounted upon an elephant receiving a dangerous wound, was thrown upon the ground. The elephant having loſt his maſter in the croud, ranged about in a ſtrange manner till he had found him. He then took him up in his trunk, put him upon his teeth, and returned in fury to the port of the town, overthrowing and trampling under his feet all that came in his way (*o*).

To this inſtinct of humanity, the elephant joins an extraordinary force proportioned to his ſtature, which renders him the ſtrongeſt of all animals. They trained them to war, and made

(*o*) Plut. in Pyrrho.

them

them the terror of the enemy, by the ſlaughter which they occaſioned when they gave them the ſignal to advance. This happened by the ſound of drums and trumpets, by the ſight of blood already ſpilt, at which they have a horror, or by the view of certain liquors which reſemble it, as the juice of mulberries or grapes (*p*). In an inſtant they make a furious aſſault, throw themſelves acroſs the battalions, and carry every where terror, diſorder and death. The ſmell and dreadful bellowing of theſe animals, occaſion ſtill more diſorder among the horſes than the men. At the firſt attack, they are ſtruck with terror, they cannot be made to advance, they fall back upon one another, and overthrow their riders. Ceſar had but one elephant (*q*) when he gave battle to Caſſonellan, king of the Britons, and he alone put the whole army to flight. This was the principal uſe which the Perſians, the Syrians, and the Romans who imitated them, made of them (*r*).

Sometimes they built upon the backs of thoſe monſtrous creatures great wooden towers of ſeveral ſtories, upon which the archers mounted, and ſhot in ſafety, having almoſt their whole body under covert. In the battle which Antiochus Eupator gave to Judas Machabeus (*s*), that king of Syria had more than thirty elephants of this kind, on each whereof were thirty-

(*p*) Machab. c. vi. v. 34.
(*q*) Polyæn. Strat. l. viii. in Cæſare, n. 5.
(*r*) Plin. l. viii. c. 5.
(*s*) 1 Machab. c. vi. v. 27.

two archers, who ſhot arrows from all ſides, and an Indian who guided them. In the Indies they were ranged in the front of the army (*t*), at a hundred paces diſtance the one from the other, where they ſerved as a rampart againſt the enemy, till the moment when they were to be rouſed and untied. Porus placed two hundred in the ſame line when Alexander came to attack him (*u*).

The Romans made uſe of them afterwards in the liſts and the combats of the gladiators. This ſpectacle was exhibited for the firſt time, in the 655th year of Rome (*x*). At firſt they only made them engage with bulls, but afterwards with men. Pompey, at the dedication of the temple of Venus, let twenty of them looſe in the circus againſt the captives of Getulia, an African people; and the circumſtances of that combat have rendered it memorable to poſterity. An elephant who had his feet cut off crawled to a troop of the Getulians whom he ſhut up in a corner. He ſnatched from them their bucklers, and threw them into the air with ſuch force and dexterity, that none of them fell upon the ſpectators. One would have ſaid, that he diſarmed them rather to divert the people than out of anger and revenge. One of them died by a ſtroke of a javelin which pierced his eye and his temples, and this appeared a prodigy. At laſt, the Getulians diſarmed, wounded or exhauſted, by the length of ſuch a furious

(*t*) Ælian. de anim. l. xvii. c. 29.
(*u*) Arrian. de exped. Alex. l. v. c. 15.
(*x*) Plin. l. viii. c. 7.

combat,

combat, found themſelves incapable of defence. The people took compaſſion of them, and demanded of Pompey to ſuffer them to leave the circus; but he would not permit it, and cauſed them all to periſh, in ſpite of the cries and lamentations of the aſſembly, who loaded him with all manner of imprecations. Ceſar exhibited a ſpectacle of twenty elephants againſt five hundred men. The emperors Nero and Claudius repeated it in the ſame propertion with elephants armed with towers.

That animal muſt have been irritated and provoked a long time before he could be put into a fury. Cruelty was quite oppoſite to his natural inſtinct. A prince intending to have thirty men who had incurred his diſpleaſure pulled in pieces (y), cauſed them to be fixed to ſtakes, and let looſe againſt them as many elephants, appointing certain perſons to attack them to put them into fury. They became furious at laſt; but it was againſt thoſe who provoked them, and the prince could not make them the miniſters of his vengeance. This animal has compaſſion for the defenceleſs, and pities an enemy who is not equal to him in force. When he paſſes thro' a flock of ſheep, he ſets them aſide with his trunk, for fear he ſhould deſtroy them by trampling on them. When they fight with one another, they do not make uſe of their tuſks, leſt they ſhould diſarm themſelves of weapons neceſſary againſt other enemies.

It is hardly credible that theſe unwieldy and

(y) Plin. l. viii. c. 7.

bulky creatures ſhould be capable of memory, and that addreſs and ingenuity which have aſtoniſhed many. Mutianus, who had been thrice conſul of Rome (*x*), affirmed that he had ſeen one who knew the Greek letters, and wrote down the words which were ſpoken to him by arranging the characters. Another having been ſeverely puniſhed by his maſter, becauſe he could not retain his leſſons, paſſed the whole night in a contemplative attitude, and did that perfectly well in the morning which he had failed to do the day before.

Almoſt all of them underſtood as much of the Indian language as regarded themſelves. Some of them were ſo tame that a child of twelve or thirteen years of age mounted them (*a*), guided them eaſily, and made them do whatſoever he pleaſed. It would ſeem we might believe every thing of them after what Arrian relates, the ſincereſt, the moſt judicious, and leaſt fabulous author of all the ancients. He ſays (*b*) that he ſaw one that had two cymbals at his legs, on which he play'd a regular air with his trunk, while ſeveral others danced round about him to exact time.

It is a matter of reproach to man, that this animal ſhould give him a leſſon in modeſty (*c*). He

(*x*) Idem c. 3.

(*a*) Philoſt. in vita Apollonii, l. ii. c. 11.

(*b*) In Indicis, c. 14. Item Philoſt. l. iii. c. 13. fine.

(*c*) Ælian, l. viii. c. 17. Quemadmodum moderate elephanti ſuas libidines contineant explicare convenit. Ii igitur ab omni immoderata libidine caſtiſſimi ſunt. Nunquam enim neque vi aut protervius, neque nimis laſcive ſocietatem veneris cum fœmina faciunt:

He is never ſeen to touch the female. Inſtinct inſpires him with a particular horror for adultery; and ſeveral facts are related which ſufficiently manifeſt it. An Indian diſguſted at his wife, from whom years had taken the power of pleaſing, reſolved to put her to death that he might marry another, of whom he was paſſionately enamoured. He cut her throat, and buried her privately in the ſtable of his elephant. A few days afterwards the creature ſeeing a new wife, took her up in his trunk, and carried her to the grave of her predeceſſor. He opened it himſelf, and ſhewed his new miſtreſs the carcaſe of his former one. He made her look upon it with attention, and ſhewed her by that act of cruelty and barbarity, what was the character of him whom ſhe had choſen for her huſband.

Another in the ſame kingdom, having (*d*) caught his maſter's wife in adultery, went and ſtruck her and her accomplice thro' with his tuſks, to ſhew the huſband his zeal and his fidelity. The ſame thing happened at Rome in the reign of the emperor Titus, with this difference, that the elephant threw a covering on

faciunt: ſed tamquam generis ſucceſſione carentes, liberis procreandis dant operam: ſic hi, ſua ſtirps ut ne deficiat, complexu venereo junguntur. Neque id ſane pluſquam ſemel in vita, et eo dumtaxat tempore quum ſe iniri fœminæ patiuntur. Ut autem quiſque eorum uxorem impleverit, non eum amplius attingit. Apertè porro ac palam in aliorum oculis non coeunt, ſed ſuccedentes, aut ſeſe in arbores denſas et frequentes occultant, aut in concavum locum et profundum, ad occultandos eos idoneum abdunt. Hæc de elephantorum temperantia.

(*d*) Ælian. l. xi. c. 15.

the

the two adulterers, that he might conceal, if poſſible, the knowledge of their crime.

This animal (*e*) is ſixteen or eighteen months in the belly of his mother, after which he comes forth about the bigneſs of a calf. He does not arrive at his full ſtrength until the age of fifty or ſixty years; it is only then that they can build a tower upon his back. From his noſe there hangs a maſs of long and hollow fleſh, which they call his trunk, and ſometimes his hand (*f*), becauſe it is of infinite ſervice to him, whether for feats of addreſs, or of ſtrength. He makes uſe of it to carry things to his mouth. From that ariſe two teeth, or prodigious tuſks, which grow to ſix feet in length, from whence we have our ivory. As if this animal was acquainted with their value, or apprehended being killed on their account (*g*), he hides them in the earth whenever they fall from him thro' old age, or any other accident. The ancients have taken them for his horns (*h*). The ſkin upon his back is like a thick buckram (*i*), or rather a ſuit of armour which can ſcarce be cut thro'; but under his belly it is much thinner: it was this that gave Eleazar the thought (*l*) to place himſelf und r that one which he believed carried Antiochus,

(*e*) Idem. l. iv. c. 31.

(*f*) Manus data elephanti, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles aditus habebant ad paſtum. Cicero de natura Deor. l. ii. n. 123.

(*g*) Plin. l. viii. c. 3.

(*h*) Vid. Philoſt. l. ii. c. 13. Bochart is of the ſame opinion, becauſe, as he pretends, they came from the brain. Hieroz. part. I. l. ii. c. 24.

(*i*) Ibid. c. 10.

(*l*) Mach. c. vi. v. 43.

and

and bury his ſword in it's body, altho' he well foreſaw that he muſt be cruſhed to pieces by it's fall. Every body knows they do not lie down to ſleep (*).

Their ordinary food is graſs or corn, but they are very fond of ſweets, ſuch as barley ſugar (*m*), and this they give them to tame them. They make thoſe whom they deſign for war, drink the wine of the country (*n*), that is to ſay, beer. But others who are weaker, and only uſed for labour (*o*), drink nothing but water, which they love beſt when it is muddy. They are ſubject to different diſtempers of which the Indians know the remedies, and this makes that animal live two or three hundred years (*p*). Apollonius Tyaneus, or Damis (*q*), related that they had ſeen in the city of Taxila, the elephant of the famous Porus with two circles of gold round his tuſks, in which it was written in Greek characters, that Alexander in eſteem of him had conſecrated him to the ſun. At that time he muſt have been above four hundred years old. But their too great love for the marvellous renders this ſuſpected.

The rhinoceros, called by the modern Indians *Abadu* (*r*), comes very near this animal in bulk and figure. This creature is found in the iſland of Java, and is common enough in the

(*) They ſay this happens becauſe he has no joints in his legs. See upon that the treatiſe of vulgar errors, p. 241, et ſeq.

(*m*) Plin l. viii. c. 7.

(*n*) Ælian. l. xiii. c. 8.

(*o*) Plin. l. viii. c. 1.

(*p*) Plin. c. 10. Ælin. l. iv. c. 31. Strab. l. xv. p. 705.

(*q*) Apud Philoſt. l. ii. c. 21.

(*r*) Mandelſlo's voyage to the Indies, l. ii. p. 376.

kingdoms

kingdoms of Bengal and Patana. The ancients have frequently mentioned it, but without giving an exact deſcription of it. Holy ſcripture uſes it as an example of the ſtrength of God himſelf (*s*). *Whoſe ſtrength is like that of the rhinoceros.* Pliny (*t*) contents himſelf with ſaying, that he has a horn upon his noſe, as his name bears; that he ſharpens it upon a ſtone before he engages with the elephant, for whom he has a natural antipathy; that he is very near of the ſame bigneſs; but that he has ſhorter legs, and that his ſkin is of the colour of the box-tree. Ælian, who has entered into ſo minute a detail on other animals very common, has not thought it neceſſary to deſcribe the rhinoceros, becauſe all the world had ſeen it at Rome in the ſhews which the emperors exhibited for the amuſement of the people. Strabo ſays (*u*) that he had ſeen this creature at Alexandria, and is as ſuperficial in his deſcription as Pliny, though he cites Artemidorus. Dio Caſſius (*x*) only tells us, that they had never appeared at Rome before the triumph of Auguſtus.

We muſt then have recourſe to the moderns for a knowledge of this extraordinary animal. Bontius (*y*) and father Le Compte (*z*) who had examined it ſeveral times, ſpeak of it pretty much in the ſame manner. Here follow the

(*s*) Numb. c. xxiii. v. 22.
(*t*) Hiſt. nat. l. viii. c 20.
(*u*) L. xvi. p. 774.
(*x*) Hiſt l. li. p. 460.
(*y*) Medicam. Indor. l. xvi.
(*z*) Memoirs of China.

words

words of the miſſionary. The rhinoceros is one of the moſt extraordinary animals in the world. He is ſomewhat, it appears to me, like the wild-boar, if it was not that he is much larger, that his feet are thicker and his body more unwieldy. His ſkin is all over covered with large and thick ſcales of a blackiſh colour, and an uncommon hardneſs. They are divided into ſmall ſquares or buttons, raiſed about a line above the ſkin, and nearly like thoſe of the crocodile. His legs appear to be ſet in boots, and his head wrapt up behind in a ſmooth capuchin: which has given occaſion to the Portugueſe to call him the *Indian Monk*. His head is large, his mouth little, and his ſnout drawn to a great length, and armed with a long thick horn, which makes him terrible to the tigers, the buffaloes, and the elephants. But that which appears moſt wonderful in this animal is his tongue, which nature has covered with ſo rough a membrane that it is not at all different from a file, and flays every thing which he licks. As we have animals here who make a grateful repaſt on thiſtles, whoſe ſmall points agreeably ſtimulate the fibres or the nerves in their tongue, ſo the rhinoceros eats with pleaſure the branches of trees briſtled all over with the largeſt thorns. I have frequently given him of theſe whoſe points were very rough and long, and it was wonderful to ſee with what greedineſs and dexterity he immediately lick'd them up, and chewed them in his mouth without the leaſt inconvenience. It is true it was ſometimes

times a little bloody; but that even rendered the taſte more agreeable, and theſe little wounds to appearance made no other impreſſion on his tongue than ſalt and pepper make on ours. The author might have added, that this animal has two kinds of wings of a ſkin extremely ugly, which cover his belly like a houſing, and in ſhape reſemble the wings of a bat.

Though the reſt of his body is in a manner wrapt up in armour, as may be ſeen in Ruyſch (*a*), and thoſe who attack him are expoſed to great danger, yet the Indians hunt him as they do other animals, becauſe he is of great uſe to them after his death. The Moors eat his fleſh, however hard it may be. His horn is not leſs curious than uſeful. When it is cut through the middle (*b*), on each ſide is ſeen the figure of a man whoſe out-lines are marked by little white ſtrokes, with thoſe of different birds and other things, as in the Egyptian flints. The greateſt part of the Indian kings drink out of cups made of this horn, becauſe it ſweats at the approach of any poiſon whatſoever. The people of Java likewiſe (*c*) ſet a great value on this animal, becauſe there is no part of it but is found in ſome degree uſeful in medicine. They make uſe of it's fleſh, it's horn, blood, teeth, ſkin, and even it's excrements. They are perſuaded there cannot be a better antidote againſt all kinds of poiſon; and they attribute to it the ſame qualities which the

(*a*) Ruyſch. Theat. animal. t. 2. p. 66. tab. xxxviii.
(*b*) Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. p. 959.
(*c*) Mandel. p. 377.

ancients

ancients did to the unicorn. Frequently they make bucklers of it's ſkin with it's ſcales.

The camel and the dromedary perform to the Indians (*d*), and the greateſt part of the eaſtern nations, the ſame ſervices which we receive from beaſts of burden, with this difference, that they will carry a thouſand weight and above, and go fifty leagues in a day without being fatigued; but they are not ſo fit to draw carriages. As it would be very difficult to load them in their natural ſituation on account of the height of their legs, they are accuſtomed betimes to lower themſelves to render it the eaſier. As ſoon as they are brought forth, they bend their four feet under their belly, and put a covering on their back, whoſe corners are loaded with ſtones, that they may not riſe up during twenty days. 'Tis thus they form them to that exerciſe until they can lie down eaſily with their burden. He who drives them ſings and whiſtles all the way as he goes along, and the more he elevates his voice the faſter is their pace. They paſs four or five days with eaſe without being incommoded by thirſt, even in the longeſt journeys; this has made ſome naturaliſts believe, that they have a reſervoir in their ſtomach. But the falſehood of this opinion has been diſcovered, firſt by diſſections; and ſecondly, becauſe there are of them in Africa which never drink, and have no other refreſhment but the green graſs which they eat. The camel is

(*d*) Ariſtot. hiſt. anim. lib. v. c. 1. & ſeq. Philoſt. l. ii. c. 6. Plin. l. viii. c. 18. Polyæn. l. vii. n. 6. Ruyſch, t. ii. p. 67. Travels of Tavernier.

naturally

naturally fearful, inſupportable to the horſe on account of his bad ſmell, and ſuffers himſelf to be devoured by the lion and the tiger without the leaſt reſiſtance. We are aſſured he lives a century if no accident happens to him. He has no teeth except in his lower jaw; and he differs from the dromedary in this, that he has only one bunch on his back, and the dromedary two diſpoſed length-ways.

I ſhall here make uſe of an addition which has been made to the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences (*e*) for the hiſtory of animals. It contains the anſwers which the Perſian ambaſſador made to the queſtions M. Conſtance propoſed to him on the part of the miſſionaries. 1ſt, That there were camels in Perſia which had two bunches on their back, but that they came originally from Turkeſtan, and were of the race of thoſe which the king of the Moors had brought into that country, the only place known in Aſia, where any of that ſpecies were to be found; and that theſe camels were much valued in Perſia, becauſe their double bunch rendered them fitter for carriages. 2dly, That theſe bunches were not formed by a curvature of the ſpine of the back, which is not more elevated there than in other places; but that they were only excreſcences of a glandular ſubſtance, raiſed half a foot in height. 3dly, That the notion there was water in the ſtomach of that creature, to which travellers had recourſe in extreme neceſſity, was an error. Theſe anec-

(*e*) Tom. iii. part i. p. 80.

dotes

dotes were publiſhed by father Gouye the jeſuit in 1688.

The camelopard is not ſo well known. It does not reſemble the camel, whoſe name the ancients had given it (f), but in the head and the manner of carrying it, bearing it in a bolder and more upright manner. His ſkin is reddiſh, ſpotted with white, or white with ſpots of red, and his ſize bigger or leſs, pretty near that of a fine horſe; but he is very ſlender about the loins, ſomewhat like the ape. The famous Pachymerus, who was at Conſtantinople when one of them was brought thither, under the reign of Michael Paleologus, towards the end of the thirteenth century, deſcribes it ſomewhat differently and more minutely. He is, ſays that hiſtorian (g), of the bigneſs of an aſs, white, and marked with red like a panther. His ſhape reſembles that of a camel, having a bunch which riſes from his tail to his ſhoulders; his fore-legs longer than thoſe behind, his neck very long, his head ſmall like a camel's, his belly white, and a black ſtreak along his back. His feet are ſlender, and cloven like a hart's. He is ſo gentle that he ſuffers himſelf to be handled and led by a child. When he is attacked he has no other defence but his teeth, and as they are very even, he uſes them rather to repulſe, than to wound thoſe who trouble him.

There are two kinds of horſes in the Indies,

(f) Plin. l. viii. c. 18. Agatharch. apud Photium, cod. 250. Vide Ruyſch, t. ii. p. 69.

(g) Pachymer. hiſt. l. iii. c. 4.

one ſort familiar or domeſtic, and the other wild. This laſt is properly the unicorn. Notwithſtanding he is perhaps the moſt dangerous and miſchievous animal in nature (*b*), yet the Indians hunt him down (*i*), and have the art of taming him, either for riding, or harneſs him to a ſort of *courſing* machines which they cauſe to wheel perpetually in riding houſes or places expreſsly deſigned for this exerciſe. But he cannot be tamed if he is taken above two years old; and to whatever ſubmiſſion he is brought, his bridle muſt be armed with ſpikes of iron. His horn is black, ſometimes three feet long; drinking cup are made of it; and it is aſſerted, that liquor kept any time in it, becomes a certain antidote againſt poiſon.

That of the wild aſs is ſaid to have the ſame virtue. If we believe Cteſias (*l*), this creature is as large as the horſe. He has a white mark upon his forehead, his horn is a cubit in length, the upper part red, the under black, his head approaching to a purple, his eyes blue, and his body white, marked with rays and ſpots of different colours, which make his ſkin moſt beautiful. When he flies from the hunters, he does not run at firſt with great rapidity, but his ſpeed increaſes inſenſibly by the motion, and he darts forth with ſo much ſwiftneſs that no horſes whatever can overtake him. The time to ſurpriſe him is when he leads forth his young feed, whom his

(*b*) Pſ. xxi. v. 22.
(*i*) Ælian. l. xiii. c. 9, & l. xvi. c. 9, & 20. Plin. l. viii. c. 21.
(*l*) In Indicis, c. 25. Ælian. l. iv. c. 52. Ruyſch, tom. ii. p. 14.

tenderneſs

tenderneſs does not ſuffer him to abandon. He expoſes himſelf to all dangers on their account; he fights the hunters with incredible fury, ſtriking with his horn and hind-feet both men and horſes; he yields not till he is all ſtuck over with darts, and has loſt both his blood and life. Immediately the Indians cut off the horn of his head, and his hoofs, which they ſay are of a perfect vermillion colour; and carry off his young which they tame by degrees.

It is no wonder they ſhould ſucceed in this, ſince they have even the art of taming the lion, and making him hunt (*m*) like a dog, or to draw like a horſe (*n*). His ſtrength, his courage, and his majeſty have procured him to be the king of beaſts. And indeed he uſes them as a demeſne appertaining to him, having no other food. All of them reſpect him; all tremble before him; but I know not by what inſtinct he himſelf trembles before the cock and the elephant (*o*). He never attacks man but when old age prevents his overtaking other prey (*p*). It is then he draws near to cities, devouring thoſe he finds in the fields. Sometimes the ſenſe of his weakneſs incites him to join with others, to afford one another mutual aid; and this union becomes ſo much the more dangerous, that one cannot be attacked, without engaging the reſt which are in their full ſtrength.

(*m*) Ariſtot. Hiſt. anim. l. vi. c. 31. Ælian. l. xvii. c. 26. Ruyſch, p. 78.
(*n*) Plin. l. x. c. 45.
(*o*) Ælian. l. iii. c. 31. & l. vii. c. 36.
(*p*) Plin. l. viii. c. 16. vide Bochart. Hiero. part I. l. iii. c. 2.

and are ſeen immediately to fly to their ſuccour. An ancient author (*q*) relates, that he has ſeen lions in Africa fixed to the croſs in order to intimidate the reſt.

At other times he is not daunted at the moſt formidable hunter. He views him with confidence and fierceneſs, he receives his firſt attack, he beats the ground with his tail, laſhing his ſides, and thus by degrees kindles that fury which has no example, and to which the moſt violent tranſports of paſſion may be compared. As there are always many engaged againſt him, he examines with attention from what hand thoſe arrows are ſent which wound him, whom he diſtinguiſhes from thoſe who only flouriſh their weapons, or miſs him. He fixes chiefly on thoſe who have ſtruck him; and if he can lay hold on them, tears them in pieces; but his vengeance is ſatisfied with overturning the others, and toſſing them about. The lioneſs is not ſo diſtinguiſhing in her fury. As ſenſible to the loſs of her young as to her own wounds, ſhe, with her head to the ground, her eyes fixed upon thoſe who would raviſh them from her, never fails to ſave them or to periſh in their defence. That which naturaliſts relate (*r*) of the fertility of this animal is peculiar to itſelf. They ſay ſhe brings forth but five times; the firſt time, ſhe has five young ones; the ſecond, four; the third time, three; the fourth, no more than two; and the laſt time, one only. Sometimes ſhe couples

(*q*) Polyb. apud eundem.
(*r*) Ælian. l. iv. c. 34.

with

with the leopard, and they diſtinguiſh the lions that proceed from thence, by their not having ſo fine a mane as thoſe of the genuine ſpecies. Both the one and the other are much afraid of fire. Some of them are white and ſome tawny.

How much ought men to bluſh at this contraſt of humanity and natural tenderneſs which is found between them and that animal! Although the fierceſt of any, he is nevertheleſs the only one who forgets not thoſe from whom he has received life. When he ſees them diſabled by old age to provide for themſelves, he quits them no more (*s*), he hunts for them, and lets them know by his voice when they have wherewithal to eat. Many mothers would eſteem themſelves happy, if their children had not deprived them by the moſt crying injuſtice of that ſupport which old age renders more neceſſary.

The leopard and panther are the male and female (*t*) of the ſame ſpecies. Although this creature is not ſo large as the lion, he is not leſs cruel and dangerous when attacked; but ſeldom invades man firſt. Yet the Indians deſpiſe his fury, and know how to profit by it. They hunt him among the other wild beaſts; they eat his fleſh, and preſerve his young ones. When they have tamed and familiariſed them, they preſent them to the king, or keep them to make uſe of them in hunting. The leopard is

(*s*) Plin. l. ix. c. 1.

(*t*) Plin. l. viii. c. 17. Ælian. l. iv. c. 49. l. v. c. 40. & l. xv. c. 14. Philoſt. in vita Apol. l. ii. c. 14. Ruyſch, t. ii. p. 82.

naturally adapted to it, and carries that about with him which attracts his prey. So ſweet an odour exhales from his body, that the roe-bucks and does are charmed with it, and approach him without knowing their danger (*u*). But as the ſight of his head terrifies them, and as they betake themſelves to flight the inſtant they perceive it, he has the cunning to conceal it under the leaves of trees, and makes not the leaſt motion till they are ſo near that he can unexpectedly ſpring upon them. This kind of hunting is ſtill in uſe among the Indians, but it is permitted to none but the king.

It is pretended that while the panther has young, the leopard dares not defend himſelf againſt her, altho' much the ſtronger, and that ſhe makes him ſuffer every kind of abuſe. Becauſe this animal loves wine, the ancients have looked upon it as a ſymbol and attendant of Bacchus (*x*).

All thoſe animals are as frequent in Arabia and Lybia as in the Indies; but it is here chiefly that the tiger is found, whoſe very name recalls the idea of fierceneſs. In order to take them (*y*), the ſhepherds or hunters watch the moment when the mother is gone to ſeek food for her young, and carry them off. But when ſhe re-

(*u*) Theven. voyage to the Indies, l. i. c. 5. p. 32. edit. in 4to. 1684.

(*x*) Vid. Philoſt. iconum, l. i. n. 19. and the note of Olearius. Pierius Hierog. l. xi. fol. 84.

(*y*) Plin. l. vi. c. 20. & l. viii. c. 18. Vid. Bochart. Hiero. part I. l. iii. c. 7, & 8. Oppian, on hunting, l. i. Ruyſch, t. 2. p. 84. Memoirs of the academy, t. iii. part 3.

turns

turns and finds them not, ſhe becomes furious, ſhe traces them by the ſmell, and runs with incredible ſwiftneſs till ſhe has overtaken the Indians, who fly before her on the fleeteſt horſes. When ſhe comes near, they drop one of her young, which ſhe takes between her teeth, and carries back to her den. The hope of recovering the reſt in the ſame manner, inſpires her with ardor, and cauſes her to return with greater alacrity. But the hunters have boats prepared on the banks of a river, and thus eſcape her fury. They tame the young ones, and make the ſame uſe of them as of thoſe of the panther.

This animal has a particular fancy for the bitch, and engenders with her a third ſpecies very uſeful in the chace. The Indians carry ſeveral bitches into a foreſt, and tie them to trees. When the tigers come they devour ſome, and couple with others, from whence proceeds a kind of dog naturally fierce and a hunter, which fears not even the panther and the lion, and will ſooner ſuffer himſelf to be torn and cut in pieces than abandon his prey. Sopithes king of the Indies gave Alexander the pleaſure of that ſpectacle (*z*), and the hero was very much ſurpriſed at it.

It is only on the faith of Cteſias (*a*) that the ancients have ſpoken of the manticore (*b*), and if it really exiſts, it is the moſt extraordinary of all creatures. It is deſcribed as having the face

(*z*) Diod. l. xvii. p. 661. & Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 1.
(*a*) Cteſias in Indicis.
(*b*) Ariſtot. de anim. l. ii. c. 1. Plin. l. viii. c. 21. Ælian. l. iv. c. 21. Pauſanias, Boeticis.

and ears of a man, blue eyes, and the reſt of the body red, and nearly of the bigneſs, ſhape, and ſtrength of a lion. Armed with a triple row of teeth, he devours men as well as wild beaſts, and this has procured him the name he bears. Theſe murtherous arms were the weakeſt part of the dreadful weapons with which he was provided. His tail a cubit in circumference, was ſtuck all over with darts a foot in length and hard as iron, which he ſhot forth behind and before to a hundred paces diſtance, and againſt whoſe poiſon there was no remedy.

There was only the elephant whoſe ſkin they could not pierce; therefore the hunters attacked him only when mounted on that animal. Whether Philoſtratus ſpeaks on his own authority (*c*), or relates faithfully what he had read in the journal of Damis, he ſays (*d*) that Apollonius enquired of Iarchas, if what was reported of the manticore was true; and he adds, the Indian made anſwer, that he had never heard of it. Ruyſch believes it is confounded with the tiger (*e*).

If monſtrous animals do not conſtitute the beauty of a country, they make it at leaſt remarkable; this may be ſaid of the Indian dragons. However plentifully Egypt and Ethiopia were furniſhed with this ſpecies, they produced nothing like that which is yet found in the Indies. Some Egyptians, who knew the curioſity

(*c*) For it is certain that the life of Apollonius was compoſed from different memoirs. See the prefaces of Olearius.

(*d*) Lib. iii. c. 45.

(*e*) Theat. anim. tom. ii. p. 85.

of

of Ptolemy Philadelphus in the rare productions of nature, brought him from Ethiopia two dragons (*f*), the largeſt of which was fourteen cubits or one and twenty feet long; this was the moſt monſtrous of all that had hitherto been ſeen. But this is nothing when compared with what is found in the Indies. There have been ſeen there dragons of thirty cubits length, and even double, if we believe different accounts (*g*). Alexander, according to one naturaliſt (*h*), diſcovered one of ſeventy cubits which they kept in a cave out of veneration or curioſity, whoſe eyes and hiſſing terrified the Macedonians.

The dragon by it's figure is only a ſerpent of extraordinary largeneſs, and there are three kinds of them. Some (*i*) live on the tops of the mountains, others in caverns and in the fields, and others in marſhes. The firſt are the largeſt of all; theſe have gilded ſcales, hair, or a ſort of long beard on their forehead and jaws, their eye-lids very open, their look frightful and cruel, their cry very ſharp and ſhrill, and a red creſt upon their head reſembling a burning coal. Thoſe of the low country differ from theſe only in the colour of their ſcales, which are white like ſilver, and in their frequenting rivers. Thoſe who live in the marſhes are almoſt quite black, ſlower in their motion, and like all the females, have no

(*f*) Ælian. l. xvi. c. 39.
(*g*) S. Ambroſ. de moribus Brach. p. 63. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 75. Bochart. Hiero. part II. l. iii. c. 13.
(*h*) Ælian l. xv c. 21. Ruyſch, tom. ii. de ſerpentibus, p. 34.
(*i*) Philoſt. l. iii. c. 6, & ſeq.

creſts.

creſts. Strabo ſays (*l*), that the painting them with wings is contrary to truth; but naturaliſts and travellers are now agreed that there are many of that ſpecies.

Both the one and the other are very common without being abſolutly dangerous; for it is pretended their bite is not venomous (*m*). But Ruyſch proves the contrary by divers examples.

A precious ſtone is found in the head of this animal (*n*) which throws as much light as the diamond, and is naturally cut into different facets, through which it ſhews all manner of colours. But to preſerve it's quality and brilliancy it muſt be taken out that moment the dragon's head is cut off, otherwiſe it loſes all it's value; and if the workman does not cut it ſoon after, he can never get the better of it's hardneſs afterwards. Ficinus ſays, that when it is left ſome time in vinegar, it moves of itſelf, firſt in a direct line, and then deſcribes ſeveral circles.

Superſtition has imagined different virtues in the body of this monſter: that it's head put (*o*) under the gates of houſes rendered them lucky; that it's eyes kneaded with honey cured nocturnal frights; that the fat of it's heart wrapt up in the ſkin of a doe, and tied to the arm with the ſinew of a horſe, rendered the judgment of a law-ſuit favourable; that it's teeth incloſed in the ſkin of a goat and bound with the ſinew of a ſtag, appeaſed

(*l*) Strabo, l. xvi. p. 775.
(*m*) Plin. l. xxix. c. 14. loc. cit. p. 32.
(*n*) Idem, l. xxvii. c. 10. Solinus, c. 30. Philoſt. l. iii. c. 8. Iſidor. Orig. l. xvi. c. 13. Marſil. Ficinus de triplici vita.
(*o*) Plin. l. xxix. c. 4.

the

the wrath of an enraged maſter; and that it's fleſh pounded, deſtroyed the force of all enchantments, cured many diſtempers, and became a ſovereign antidote or counter-poiſon.

From hence aroſe that keenneſs with which the Indians hunted him. They ſtretched over the mouth of the caverns a great piece of ſtuff embroidered with gold, which ſerved to charm the eyes of that monſter; and when they had laid him aſleep by the ſound of muſical inſtruments, they cut off his head. They ran a greater riſk and had more trouble with thoſe of the mountains, whom it was neceſſary to purſue a long time, and attack with arrows and javelins. This animal is by inſtinct a mortal enemy to the elephant (p); he takes notice of the places thro' which he commonly paſſes, gets on the top of a tree, darts himſelf upon him, and twiſts himſelf round his whole body; after he has torn out his belly, he thruſts his head into his noſtrils, makes him loſe all his blood, and choaks him. But his hatred here becomes a ſymbol of that of men, almoſt always equally pernicious and deſtructive to both theſe enemies. The elephant dies, he falls, and by his fall cruſhes the monſter to pieces which occaſioned his death.

Were it not for the inundations which happen every ſummer in this country, it would be infeſted by other ſerpents and inſects of different kinds (q), which the heat produces and nouriſhes

(p) Plin. l. viii. c. 11, & 12. Ælian. l. vi. c. 21. Pompon. Mela, l. iii. de Indicis.

(q) Nearch. & Ariſtob. apud Strab. l. xv. p. 706. & Arrian. de Indicis, cap. xv. Rob. Knox's account of Ceylon, vol. i. p. 73.

In

in vaſt numbers. Amongſt thoſe is a ſort of viper, very noxious, and ſeveral other reptiles, whoſe bite is mortal without the application of thoſe ſimples which cure it, and which nature has happily rendered very common. There are of theſe vipers from nine to ten cubits in length, others only half a foot, and theſe laſt are much more terrible, as well as the ſcorpion, and a vaſt quantity of others, whoſe minuteneſs protects them from being purſued and deſtroyed. But the earth is purged of them every year by the overflowing of the waters; without which the houſes would not be habitable. The Macedonians ſuffered much by them before they knew the remedy. Many died, and the reſt were obliged for a long time to hang their beds to the branches of trees to defend themſelves from them (*r*).

The ants who diſcover the golden mines, are as ſingular in their ſpecies as the ſervice is which they perform, and are only found in the province of the Derdes, towards the ſource of the Indus, and ſometimes in Ethiopia (*s*). This animal (*t*) reſembling the common ants in ſhape, is of the bigneſs of a fox. It's hair is of the colour of a cat, and he runs with all imaginable ſwiftneſs. Nature points out to him thoſe places in the earth where the gold is pureſt; he there digs himſelf a burrow, and throws up the ore

(*r*) Diod. l. xvii. p. 560.

(*s*) Philoſt. in vita Apoll. l. vi. c. 1.

(*t*) Herod. l. iii. c. 102. Megaſth. apud Strab. l. xv. p. 705. Plin. l. xi. c. 31. Arrian de Indicis, c. 15. Clem. Alex. Paedag. l. ii. p. 207. Pomp. Mela, l. iii. de India. Vide Bochart. Hiero. part II. l. vi. c. 4.

which

which he finds in it. But, a natural image of a covetous heart, he make no uſe of it, and will not ſuffer men to profit by it, guarding his treaſure night and day, and driving away whoever approaches to it, even without any deſign of taking it from him. Nothing but the greateſt heats of the ſun can oblige him to retire into his den to ſhun it's rays. When the ant greedy of his prey, is forced to intermit his guard, the Indians take advantage of that moment, lie ſeveral hours in wait, ſeize the time when they are not perceived, carry off the ore, and eſcape on their camels with vaſt diſpatch, for fear of being devoured.

Notwithſtanding the great number of ancient teſtimonies which mention this extraordinary animal, we find no veſtige of it among modern travellers. But they agree *(u)* that thro' all the Indies and the Iſlands, there is ſo great a number of common ants, and which do ſo much miſchief, that one muſt have ſeen it to give it any manner of credit. No ſooner is any thing laid on the ground but it is immediately covered with theſe vermin. They eat out the heart of a whole loaf of bread in an inſtant. To ſhun theſe inconveniencies as much as poſſible, the beds, cheſts and beaufets of the Indians, are raiſed upon four feet, ſet in veſſels full of water, and which they take care to keep at a diſtance from the wall. Thoſe who keep birds, and would prevent their being eaten up by the ants, are obliged to ſet them on a ſtick fixed in a veſ-

(u) Collection of Dutch voyages, vol. 1. p. 376.

ſel

ſel full of water. If they were ſuſpended in the air, they would get at them by the rope; for they walk as eaſily on the cieling as on the ground. There are of them a finger long.

The griffin, according to the ancients, came near the firſt ſpecies of the ant. Thoſe who ſpeak of it (*x*), repreſent it to be a creature partaking both of the terreſtrial and aerial kind. They ſay it had four feet, of the bigneſs of a lion; but was covered with feathers; and had the head and beak of an eagle; it was black all over the body, except the breaſt, which was reddiſh, and had commonly wings, or a fine ſlender membrane which performed the ſame office as feathers. The ancients conſecrated it to Apollo, and harneſſed it to the chariot of the ſun, becauſe they believed it could fix it's eyes ſtedfaſtly on that ſtar (*y*). Like the ant of the Indies, he inhabited the deſarts and mountains, dug out the gold ore and guarded it with the ſame aſſiduity. But more fierce and terrible, he feared neither the lion, the tiger, nor the elephant; and the Indians never ventured to attack him but when aſſembled in great numbers. They went by the light of the moon to carry off his rich booty, when they believed him aſleep; but he ſeldom fail'd to awake, and then they were forced to purchaſe by a bloody combat, which coſt many their lives, that which enriched the

(*x*) Cteſias in Indicis, c. 13. Herod. l. iii. c. 116. & l. iv. c. 13. Plin. l. vi. c. 2. Philoſt. l. iii. c. 48. Ælian. l. iv. c. 27. Photius, codice 72. Servius in eclog. viii. Ruyſch, tom. ii. Mem. Acad. tom. iii. part 3.

(*y*) Pierius, Hierogl. l. xxiii. fol. 167.

reſt.

reſt. It cannot in the mean time be denied that this creature was looked upon as imaginary *(z)*, even by ſome of the ancients *(a)*, at leaſt as far as related to the ſhape they gave it; altho' we have at this day a whitiſh grey bird very ravenous, which is called a gryffon *(b)*.

It were almoſt needleſs to ſpeak of the ape, unleſs it were to take notice that he has his origin chiefly from the Indies. They are ſeen in that country of all colours and of all kinds *(c)*, grey, red, white, and black; and ſome have been brought into France larger than an ordinary dog, whoſe faces were of a perfect celeſtial blue. This animal is ſo common in ſome towns *(d)*, that the houſes are frequently covered with them, and they never fail to do miſchief to paſſengers in the ſtreets if they can find any thing to throw at them. In ſome places they get upon rocks, and overwhelm the travellers below with ſtones. Their whole merit conſiſts in their inſtinct of imitation. In thoſe places *(e)* where pepper and cocoa grow, the Indians make uſe of their dexterity to gather what they cannot come at themſelves. They get upon the loweſt branches, break off the extremities where the fruit is, lay them in order on the ground as if in

(z) Dudum ea quæ finxit de grypho etiam exploſit antiquitas, ſays Bochart. Hiero. part II. l. vi. c. 2. Vide Ruyſch, tom. i. ad calcem.

(a) Arrian. Indicis, c. 15. Plin. l. x. c. 49.

(b) There was one of that kind in the menagerie of M. the duke, ſome years ago.

(c) Ælian. l. xv. c. 14. Plin. l. viii. c. 21.

(d) Thevenot's voyage to the Indies, chap. vi.

(e) Philoſt. l. iii. c. 4.

play,

play, and then retire. The apes who obſerve them narrowly, go immediately after to the ſame trees, ſtrip them to the top, and diſpoſe the branches in the ſame manner they had ſeen the Indians do, who return in the night time, and carry off their harveſt.

It is by this paſſion for imitation or mimicking every thing, that the apes teach men the manner of catching themſelves *(f)*. Some carry cups full of water or honey, rub their faces with it before them, and in their ſtead dextrouſly ſubſtitute glue, and then retire. The apes who ſee them from the top of a tree or rock, come down to the cups to do the ſame, but they blind themſelves, and thus put it out of their power to eſcape. Others bring boots, which they put on and take off ſeveral times, and leave behind them ſmaller ones rubbed over with glue. When they are gone the apes come and put them on, but cannot take them off, or get out of the hunters way. Sometimes they bring mirrors in which they view themſelves in different attitudes, and leave others with traps which open and ſhut when they are touched. The ape lays hold of the glaſſes to look at himſelf, and immediately he finds his two fore feet entangled, and himſelf unable to walk a ſtep. But the lion makes a more deſtructive war upon him. He loves his fleſh, and knows it is good for different diſtempers; for which cauſe he greedily hunts after him, and feeds upon him.

(f) Strabo, l. xv. p. 699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 560.

The

The adventure of Alexander's troops with theſe creatures, is very ſingular. They marched always in order, and arriving among mountains where were a great many apes *(g)*, encamped there the following night. The next day when the army began to move, they perceived at ſome diſtance a prodigious number of apes aſſembled together, and drawn up in battalia. The Macedonians who could ſuſpect nothing of that kind, believed it was the enemy. The alarm was ſounded, every man ran to arms, and made ready to engage. Taxiles, prince of the country, who had already ſurrendered to Alexander, informed him what ſort of an army this was, and that he had only to advance to put them to flight.

Their attachment to one another is perhaps without example among other animals. We may judge of it by a ſingular inſtance which Tavernier relates *(h)*. "Returning from Agra with the Engliſh preſident who was going to Surat, about four or five leagues from Amenabad, we paſſed thro' a little foreſt of the trees called *Mangoes*. We ſaw a good number of large apes, male and female, many of the laſt holding their young ones between their arms. We were each of us in our chariot, and the Engliſh preſident ſtopt his to tell me, that he had a fine and curious fowling piece; and knowing that I was a good marksman, begged of me to try it on one of thoſe animals. One of my ſer-

(g) Strabo, ubi ſupra.
(h) Tavernier's travels to the Indies, l. i. c. 3.

vants who was of the country, having made me a ſign not to hazard it, I endeavoured to diſſuade the preſident from his deſign. But in ſpite of all I could ſay, he ſhot and killed a female ape, which hung among the branches, letting her young ones fall to the ground. What my ſervant had foreſeen came to paſs immediately. All the apes who were on the trees to the number of more than ſixty, deſcended immediately in a fury, and fell upon the preſident's coach, whom they would have ſtrangled, had it not been for the ready aſſiſtance afforded him by ſhutting the doors and ſetting all our domeſtics to drive them away. Altho' they came not near me, yet I was afraid of the fury of theſe animals, who were ſtrong and large; they purſued the preſident's coach near a league, ſo much were they enraged."

The poèphagus is mentioned no where but in Ælian (*i*). This creature twice as large as an ordinary horſe, is much ſought after by the Indian women for the beauty of it's hair. That of it's tail is three feet long; it is finer than human hair, and they uſe it in their beſt head-dreſſes. But it is an ornament not eaſily come at. Beſides that the poèphagus is very ſcarce, his bulk does not prevent his ſwiftneſs. He is not taken but by the aſſiſtance of horſes and dogs. When he finds himſelf preſſed, he ſits down, hides his tail under brambles or leaves, and defends himſelf with courage. Frequently the dogs are not

(*i*) De animalibus, l. xvi. c. 11.

able

able to get the better of him; then the hunters ſhoot him with poiſoned arrows, whoſe venom is ſo ſpeedy that he dies immediately. It's hide is as valuable as the tail, but the fleſh is good for nothing.

That which they call the Indian mouſe is a ſort of beaſt as large as a cat, with the ſhape and ſkin of a monkey.

All that the ancients have ſaid of the Indian cameleon, is ſo uncertain, falſe and ſuperſtitious, that we are obliged to neglect their accounts, and follow thoſe of the moderns; among whom nothing better can be read than the diſſertation of M. Perrault (*l*), ſupported equally on literary knowledge, and the diſſection of an animal of that ſpecies. The greateſt part of what I ſhall ſay, ſhall be an extract from him. And the more ſo as his obſervations agree with thoſe of mademoiſelle de Scudery, in an account which ſhe publiſhed of two cameleons that had been brought her from Africa.

This animal reſembles in bulk a large lizard, except that he has two very large ears, which lie down upon his neck. His ordinary abode is among the rocks. He has four feet, and five toes to each, which he uſes in jumping among the branches of trees and buſhes, to which he fixes himſelf alſo with his tail which he twiſts round them. His motion is as ſlow as that of the tortoiſe: except upon trees, where he takes more delight than on the ground. The longeſt

(*l*) Mem. de l'Acad. tom. iii. part I. p. 53.

of them are from eleven to twelve inches from the head to the extremity of the tail, but ſometimes it contracts it's whole body one half it's natural dimenſions. We have ſeen ours, ſays M. Perrault, continue in it's contracted ſtate for a conſiderable time, and even longer than ever when in it's natural dimenſions. In this condition it appeared ſo meagre, that the ſpine of it's back was as ſharp as if the ſkin had been paſted over the bones; this made ſeveral riſings appear in it. The ribs might be counted, and the tendons of it's limbs might be ſeen very diſtinctly. This leanneſs was likewiſe perceived when he turned his body, for he ſeemed to be nothing but a dry bag twiſted round. Tertullian obſerved this when he ſays, that this animal is nothing but a living ſkin. This manner of dilating and contracting himſelf in the cameleon is ſuch, that it ſeems difficult to attribute it to any thing but the air which he breathes; altho' it is yet more difficult to conceive by what means the air can paſs from the lungs into the reſt of the body, as it thus ſeems to be communicated to it. Yet, notwithſtanding that great contraction, the beating of his heart could not be perceived, which was yet more faint and obſcure than the motion of reſpiration.

His ſkin was very cold to the touch; it's ſurface unequal and raiſed into little knobs like ſhagreen, but not ſo rough, becauſe every knob was very ſmooth. The colour of theſe little eminences, when the cameleon was at reſt in the ſhade, and had been ſome time without being

being handled, was of a blueiſh grey, except below the paws, which were white inclining to yellow, and at ſome intervals where the ſkin might be diſcerned, which was of a pale and yellowiſh red. It is likely that the natural colour of the cameleon's ſkin, which according to Ariſtotle is black, was in ours that grey in which he appeared when at reſt, and which remained on the inſide of his ſkin after he was flay'd. The outſide preſerved for ſome time thoſe ſpots and different colours which were on it when he died; but they were almoſt all effaced when the ſkin was dried. That grey with which the whole cameleon was coloured when expoſed to day-light, changed when he was placed in the ſun; and all the enlightened parts of his body, inſtead of their natural blueiſh grey, changed into a grey of a tint ſomewhat browniſh or inclining to a tawny. The reſt of the ſkin which was not expoſed to the ſun, changed it's grey into a great many ſhining colours, which formed ſtreaks of the breadth of half an inch. They were all of the *Iſabella* colour by the mixture the pale yellow with which the grains were coloured, and of the clear red, which was the colour of the ground of the ſkin which appeared between the grains. When the ſun ceaſed to ſhine upon him, the former grey colour returned by little and little, and ſpread itſelf all over his body. Having been handled by one of the company who wanted to examine him nearly, there immediately appeared on his ſhoulders and fore legs, ſeveral ſpots very black and of the

bigneſs of one's nail; but this did not happen when he was handled by his keepers. Sometimes he became marked all over with brown ſpots, inclining to a green. Afterwards he was wrapt up in a linen cloth, where having been two or three minutes, he was taken out of a whitiſh colour; but not ſo white as that which Aldrovandus ſpeaks of, which ſeemed to diſappear, having become, according to that naturaliſt, entirely like the linen in which he was wrapt. Ours, which had only changed his ordinary grey into a very pale grey, grew brown again by degrees a few moments after. Theſe experiments convinced us that it is not true that the cameleon takes all colours, excepting white, as Plutarch and Solinus would have it. For ours appeared to have ſuch a diſpoſition to receive that colour, that he became pale every night; and when he was dead, there was more white upon him than of all other colours. We likewiſe obſerved that he never aſſumes the ſame colour over his whole body, but that he always changes into ſtreaks and ſpots, contrary to what Ariſtotle has ſaid. In fine, to compleat our experiments on the colours which the cameleon could aſſume, we wrapt him up in different things of various colours; but he took none of them, as he had taken the white; and even not that afterwards as he had done the firſt time, tho' we repeated the experiment ſeveral days.

After examining the ſwelling and the variations of that animal, there remained a third thing, no leſs important, which was to determine

mine what he fed upon. All the ancients, and even ſome moderns, have aſſerted it as a thing not to be controverted, that he lives on the air and the ſun-beams; and this has given riſe to the proverb, 'that thoſe who have no viſible means 'of ſubſiſting live on the wind like the ca-'meleon.' But this error has been diſcovered and demonſtrated by different proofs. Naturaliſts did not obſerve the agility with which he employs his tongue to catch thoſe animals on which he feeds. There is a kind of natural glue continually growing upon it which attracts flies and other inſects, and which he ſwallows with ſuch rapidity that ſcarce can one perceive the motion he makes in withdrawing it. When examined with a microſcope, for it is extremely minute, a number of ſmall wrinkles were obſerved acroſs it, which demonſtrated the facility with which the cameleon moves it. Upon diſſecting him, flies and worms, he had been ſeen to ſwallow, were found in his ſtomach and inteſtines. He voided even ſtones the bigneſs of a pea which he had not ſwallowed; and this gave occaſion to new obſervations. After having examined them accurately, they were found to be ſo light, that when thrown into diſtill'd vinegar they roſe from the bottom of the veſſel when ſhook; they diſſolved in it; and in the middle of one that burſt was found the head of a fly, around which the ſtony matter had been amaſſed. It is ſaid ſay the cameleon fears not the bite of the ſerpent (*l*).

(*l*) Ælian. de animal. l. iv. c. 53.

Of all the advantages which the ancients drew from the Indies or other eaſtern countries, we have only loſt the tincture of purple; but that loſs has been compenſated by a great number of other diſcoveries neither leſs valuable nor leſs uſeful. Muſk is one of the chief; and we do not find they had any knowledge of it. Pliny, who forgot nothing of all that was intereſting in nature, has not ſo much as mentioned it's name, which we find for the firſt time in Arnobius and Apuleius. The ancients were then ignorant of that exquiſite perfume, which when tempered by a happy mixture conſtitutes the life, eſſence, and excellency of all others.

It comes from an animal of the bigneſs of a doe or faun, very common in the Indies and in China, and is called *Moſch* or *Muſc*. The muſc, (*m*) ſay our travellers, is ſo very lazy, that the hunters raiſe it with difficulty, and it ſuffers itſelf to be killed without reſiſtance. They immediately cut off a ſmall bladder covered with down, which he has on his navel, from whence they draw a kind of juice, or odoriferous coagulated blood; then they flay him, and cut him in pieces. Beſides this liquor, which is the elixir of muſk, it is made three different ways. They take the hind quarters of this animal from the kidneys backwards, pound them with a little blood in a ſtone mortar, until

(*m*) Le Brun, p. 181, Phil. Martin, Atlas of China, Mandelſlo, p. 81.

the

the whole is reduced to a pap, which they dry, and put in ſmall bags made of the ſkin of the ſame animal. When they want to make it of an inferior quality, which is nevertheleſs very good, they pound and bruiſe without diſtinction all the parts of the creature together, and reduce it alſo to a pap, by mixing a little blood with it, and then put it into bags of the ſame ſkin. The laſt kind of muſk, which is likewiſe much eſteemed, tho' not ſo good, is made of the fore-parts from the kidneys to the head, ſo that none of it is loſt.

Some authors have alledged, that the muſc is the ſame with the antelope. But the gentlemen of the academy who have diſſected many of this laſt, have not even inſinuated the leaſt reſemblance between them in their memoirs (*n*).

A modern traveller whom we have juſt now quoted (*o*), mentions an animal whoſe ſingularity will not permit us to paſs it over in ſilence. He deſcribes it in this manner: Being at the country houſe of the general of Batavia, I ſaw a certain animal called a *Filander*, which has ſomething about it very ſingular. There were ſeveral of them which ran among the rabbits, and had their burrows in a little hill ſurrounded with a paliſade. The hind legs of this creature are much thicker than his fore ones, and he has nearly the ſize and ſkin of a large hare; his head reſembles ſomewhat that of a fox, and his tail is

(*n*) T. III. part I. p. 95.
(*o*) Le Brun. p. 347.

ſharp-

ſharp-pointed. But what is moſt remarkable about him is an opening under the belly, ſhaped like a bag, in which the young ones hide themſelves when any one comes near them. Their head and neck are frequently ſeen out of this bag. But when the mother runs they retire to the bottom, becauſe ſhe makes a long ſpring in running.

Theſe are the moſt remarkable terreſtrial animals found in the Indies. There are ſtill a great many others ſingular and very uncommon in their ſpecies; but I do not think it neceſſary to ſpend any time upon them, either becauſe they are of little importance, or becauſe we know them ſo imperfectly that nothing ſatisfactory can be ſaid about them. The ſea which bounds this country, the Indus, the Ganges, and other rivers, produce as extraordinary aquatic animals. Here follow the moſt remarkable.

The nature and genius of the dolphin have rendered him the moſt famous of all fiſhes. The ancients have ſpoke of him in terms of admiration. (q).

There is not, according to them, a fiſh that ſwims with greater ſwiftneſs or agility; he exceeds the flight of a bird, and comes near the rapidity of an arrow; he is the only one who

(q) Ariſt. l. ix. c. 48. Plin. l. ix. c. 8. Strab. l. xv. p. 719. Ælian. l xii. c. 12. Athen. Deip. l. xiii. Philoſt. Icon. l. i. c. 19. Ruyſch. t. i. p 154. Voſſius has collected at great length all that antiquity has ſaid of the dolphin. De Idol. l. iv. from ch. 3d, to 37th. Pierius relates very curious things of him in his hieroglyphics, l. xxvi. fol. 194, & ſeq.

cannot

cannot live with his head under water. When he plunges down to ſeize the fiſh on which he preys, he aſcends with ſuch agility, that he has been ſeen to raiſe himſelf above the ſails of a ſhip. He loves to be near man, and takes delight in playing among ſhips, and ſends forth a kind of cry like to a groan of tenderneſs. They all ſay this animal was common in the Indian ſea, the Archipelago, and the Atlantic ocean. They attribute to him an inſtinct of benevolence and gratitude, which might be compared with the fineſt ſentiments of humanity. Thus far have the mythologiſts carried their fictions about this animal (*r*), whereof they have made a conſtellation.

But modern naturaliſts pretend that the dolphin is an imaginary animal, which never exiſted in nature, ſuch as he is deſcribed. They would have it, that he muſt be either the ſea-hog, the tunny, the lamia, or the lamantin (*s*); and in fact there is no fiſh now to be found which reſembles the dolphin ſuch as he is painted in the arms, and on the crown of the eldeſt ſon of France. The beſt authors who have given it's figure, repreſent it as much the ſame with the tunny or the porpoiſe. I have obſerved at ſea, ſomething in thoſe animals which approaches that familiarity which they attribute to the dolphin. After all it is difficult to conceive that all that has been ſaid of this animal, ſhould be founded on any

(*r*) Hygin. fab. excivi. Arat. phænom. in delphino & Orione. Ovid. l. iii. fab. xi.

(*s*) See the voyages of the Hollanders, t. i. p. 259.

thing

thing but fable and impoſture, eſpecially, as in 1552, there were dolphins taken at Queenborough and Blackwall, which ſurpaſſed in ſwiftneſs the fleeteſt horſe (*t*).

Here follows a quotation from Cornelius le Brun (*u*), one of the beſt, exacteſt, and moſt faithful travellers we have ever had. "Near to Mangeloor, the 30th of November 1705, we catched ſome dolphins, as well with harpoons as with hooks. We fixed to theſe laſt a bunch of ſmall feathers, and threw them into the ſea at the end of a line. The dolphins, miſtaking theſe little feathers for flying fiſh on which they feed, ſwam continually round the veſſel till they were taken. This is the leſs extraordinary, becauſe theſe little fiſh, who are afraid of the dolphin, fly as much as they can above the ſurface of the water, and continue their flight for a conſiderable diſtance. But as they often plunge again into the ſea, the dolphins catch them, as I have frequently ſeen. I have preſerved three of them in ſpirits of wine, which had fallen as they were flying on the deck of our veſſel, a thing common enough. We caught one of theſe dolphins which was four feet in length, and his head ten inches thick. Their belly is yellow, ſpotted with blue up to the eyes; the reſt is of a clear blue, with deeper ſpots of the ſame colour, eſpecially around the head. The fins are violet, green and white,

(*t*) Dictionary of Trevoux at the word Dolphin.
(*u*) Voyage to the Levant, p. 324, et ſeq.

with

with ſome yellow at the extremities. They change colour when they are dying, and reſemble porcelain or china ware. They have a fin on the back reaching from the neck to the tail, two others on the belly near the neck, and another at each ſide of the head. The tail is forked, the pupil of the eye ſurrounded with a white circle, with a little mouth and ſmall teeth. The head of the male is much larger than that of the female, and he has beſides a greater number of inteſtines. They eat them dreſs'd like a cod, and they have a very good reliſh." According to the figure which is given of it in the ſame place, and deſigned by the hand of the author, the dolphin has a flat head like the ſole, but round and proportioned to a fiſh four feet in length, the body almoſt like a ſturgeon, the exterior ridge of the back the ſame with that of a perch, and the tail forked like a mackrel's.

The dolphin is eaſily drawn to the ſea-ſide by ſinging, the ſound of a muſical inſtrument, or the allurement of food. He knows again thoſe who are kind to him, and is concerned when he ſees them go away. That accident which happened in Campania under the reign of Auguſtus, and was atteſted by Mecenas and many great men of that age, has been frequently painted, and much admired. A child of Baiæ (*x*), who was frequently obliged to go to Puteoli to the public ſchools, had made an acquaintance with

(*x*) Plin. l. ix. c. 8.

a dol-

a dolphin as he paſſed the gulph which ſeparated the two cities. The fiſh took notice of the time when the young man came to take water, and waited for him at the ſea-ſide. He played for a long time about him to gain his friendſhip and confidence, and engaged him by the motions he made to mount upon his back, and carried him to the other ſide. After the ſchool was over, the dolphin returned to take him up, and carried him back to the port of Baiæ. That exerciſe continued without interruption for ſeveral years, and the whole city ran in crowds to be witneſſes of it. But the boy having been attacked by a diſtemper which proved mortal, the fiſh wandered continually about the ſhore; and ſeeing no more the youth whom he loved, languiſhed and died.

The ſame thing having happened at different places, renders this more probable. It was obſerved at Alexandria in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, attended with very particular circumſtances. A dolphin mixed himſelf with ſome young men who were bathing in the ſea (y), and after having examined them all, he attached himſelf to him that was moſt beautiful. He ſwam about him, and at firſt the young man was afraid; but obſerving that the fiſh endeavoured to pleaſe him, he took courage, mounted upon his back, and ſwam about with him a long time in the ſea, guiding and conducting him wherever he pleaſed. He returned thither at

(y) Ælian. l. vi. c. 15.

different

different times, and this exerciſe became a public ſpectacle. But unhappily he occaſioned as much pain as he had given pleaſure. One day the dolphin neglected to lay flat the pikes which are upon his back; one of them ran into the body of the young man, and pierced an artery, by which he loſt all his blood. The fiſh finding him ſenſeleſs, becauſe he no longer directed his motion, carried him back to the ſhore; and ſeeing him ready to expire, he reſolved to puniſh himſelf, and remained upon the ſand till he died.

If the following inſtance of gratitude is true, it does as much honour to theſe animals as diſhonour to human nature. Cæranus a merchant of Paros (z), met at Byzantium with fiſhermen, who having taken ſome dolphins, were preparing to put them to death. He bought them, and threw them again into the ſea. Inſtinct inſpired them with every thing that reaſon could have dictated to them. They followed the veſſel in which Cæranus returned to Greece, and ſaved him in the ſhipwreck which he ſuffered, and carried him to Paros. Cæranus ever after kept up a kind of correſpondence with them. When he died his relations buried him at the ſea ſide. Some how or other the dolphins had information of it. They came as near the pile as was poſſible, and ſtaid there till he was conſumed, as if to aſſiſt at his funeral. One might eſteem himſelf happy, if thoſe to whom he renders

(z) Ælian. l. viii. c. 3.

good

good offices, took not occaſion to repay him with ingratitude before his death.

It is true, all of them are not ſo tractable. There are of them near the iſland Trapobane (*a*) which may be called real ſea monſters, whoſe bite is very dangerous, and which devour paſſengers. But there are others who have their ſhare of good nature. They aſſiſt the mariners in fiſhing (*b*); they love and defend one another to the hazard of their lives (*c*); and for that reaſon are never ſeen alone. The ſureſt method to catch them is, to engage them to the ſea ſide (*d*) by the ſound of an organ, or the melody of ſome other muſical inſtrument. They have no enmity except with the crocodile, whom they chace and frequently wound with the pikes on their back. We know not for what reaſon the ancients (*e*) would not eat of them; unleſs it was on account of the regard they bore to this animal; as for example, the Cyreneans who dedicated an oracle to it (*f*). The ſame notion made Alexander, when he returned to Babylon, appoint a child to be the prieſt of Neptune (*g*), becauſe the dolphin loves youth.

There are no ſuch monſters found in any other part of the world, as the ſeas and rivers

(*a*) Ælian. l. xvi. c. 18. Arrian. Indicis, c. 39. Strabo, l. xv. p. 719.
(*b*) Plin. l. ix. c. 8.
(*c*) Ælian. l. v. c. 6.
(*d*) Plin. l. xi. c. 37.
(*e*) Vide Caſaub. in Athen. l. vii. c. 7.
(*f*) Strabo, l. i. p. 56.
(*g*) Plin. l. ix. c. 8.

of

of India produce. We know this from the teſtimony of writers themſelves who had ſeen them. Nearchus (*b*), admiral of thoſe Macedonians whom Alexander had embarked for Babylon, perceived in a great calm mountains of water which roſe in the ſea with a hideous noiſe. Neither he nor the Greeks knew the reaſon of it. After being informed by the Indians that this was occaſioned by whales, they were ſo terrified that the oars dropt out of their hands, and they believed every moment they ſhould be ſwallowed up. Nearchus with difficulty raiſed their drooping ſpirits: he ranged his ſhips in line of battle, as if he had been to engage an enemy; he commanded his men to give loud ſhouts, and to ſound the trumpets in order to terrify thoſe monſters. This expedient was ſucceſsful; immediately they diſappeared, and plunged into the boſom of the waves.

The Greeks were no longer aſtoniſhed at theſe extraordinary motions, after they became acquainted with the enormous bulk of thoſe animals. The waves of the ſea frequently throw them upon the ſhores of the Ichthiophagi, and ſometimes it ebbs ſo ſpeedily, that they are not able to follow the torrent. Thus they die upon the ſand, and the people of that country make uſe of them in building their houſes. They make rafters of the fins on their belly, their jaw-bones ſerve inſtead of doors and tables, and every joint in their back-bone makes

(*b*) Arrian. Indicis, c. 30. Plin. l. ix. c. 3. Philoſt. in vita Apol. l. iii. c. 7.

a mortar, in which they grind their corn for want of a mill-ſtone. Some of theſe whales are a hundred cubits in length, and their ſkin two feet in thickneſs.

Among theſe monſters there are ſea elephants (*i*), five times larger than the land ones, one of their ribs being twenty cubits in length. To ſome of theſe fiſhes they give the names of thoſe terreſtrial animals which they moſt reſemble: calling them ſea-lions, panthers, rams, dogs, and ſo forth. But there were many to whom they were at a loſs what names to give. Some had a head like a woman's, ſtuck all over with pikes. Others were ſo extraordinary that neither words nor pencil could deſcribe them. There were of them which had long tails covered with ſcales or a ſort of hair, with fins like feet, or claws reſembling thoſe of a lobſter. Some came out of the water in the night-time to feed in the fields, deſtroying the trees, and the harveſt. And there were ſome ſo venomous, that their touch alone was mortal.

The Indus and the Ganges produced a ſort of worm (*l*) which had not it's parallel in all nature beſides. He grew to the length of ſeven cubits (*m*), and was two feet in circumference. He had at each jaw only one tooth of four inches; but theſe ſo ſtrong, that whatever creature came to drink in the river, whether an

(*i*) Plin. l. ix. Ælian. l. xvi. c. 12, & 18. Conſule Ruyſch.
(*l*) Cteſ. Indicis, n. 27. Plin. l. ix. c. 15. Ælian. l. v. c. 3. Philoſt. in vita Apol. l. iii. c. 1.
(*m*) Pliny ſays ſixty.

horſe,

horſe, an ox, a camel, or an elephant, he dragged him in, and tore his whole belly in pieces, except his entrails. They were caught with a hook, baited with a ſheep or a goat. The fiſhers drew them out on the bank, and hung them up by the tail for three weeks. In this condition they perſpired an oil, which took fire of itſelf when expoſed to the air. While the kings of Perſia had the empire of the Indies, they were obliged to ſend them all that was made; and they uſed it in ſieges, throwing it upon the gates of cities, which took fire immediately. There was another kind of fiſh, likewiſe called a worm, whoſe nature was ſo much the more ſingular, as the different ſtates thro' which it paſſed, ſeemed to render it leſs proper for the water. At firſt it formed itſelf into a pipe or tube *(n)*, from whence it ſhewed only it's horns; it came out of this ſome time after in the form of a ſmall earth-worm; it then ſhut itſelf up in a caſe like a ſilk-worm, and appeared again with the wings of a butterfly. The fineſt ſtuffs of the country were made of what it ſpun in order to form it's caſe.

Altho' the tortoiſe is not peculiar to the Indies, yet thoſe found there are remarkable above all others on account of their prodigious bigneſs. There are three ſeveral kinds of them *(o)*; ſome live upon the land, others in the ſea, and ſome in freſh water. The figure of

(n) S. Ambroſ. Hexameron. l. v. c. 23.

(o) Plin. l. vi. c. 22. l. ix. c. 10, & 11. l. xxxii. c. 4. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 773. Ælian. l. xvi. c. 14, & 17. Mem. de l'Acad. tom. iii. part 2.

this animal is very extraordinary. His head is very ſmall, and no way proportioned to his body. Altho' he has neither teeth nor tongue, he nevertheleſs grinds ſhells, and even ſtones, to pieces, by the hardneſs of his lips. His feet are very ſhort, and the ſlowneſs of their motion is ſufficiently known. There is a piece of fleſh upon his back which joins to the ſhell with which he is entirely covered, which extends itſelf beyond his body, and defends him from the ſtrokes and attacks that may be made upon him. It is chiefly on account of this ſhell that the tortoiſe is ſought after. There are of them five or ſix feet long; and if we believe ſome of the ancients, fifteen cubits, and conſequently large enough to cover a chamber which might contain a number of people. Theſe are found chiefly about the iſland of Taprobane, and in the Ganges. Others were uſed inſtead of boats by the fiſhermen. The tortoiſe is caught ſeveral ways. When he makes excurſions in the night-time to feed in the fields, he frequently fills himſelf ſo full as to become unable to get back. Sometimes he is ſurpriſed by the too ſudden reflux of the ſea, and remains upon the ſand. The female is taken upon her eggs, which are like thoſe of birds, and of which ſhe lays a hundred. Carbilius Pollio, a Roman, who degenerating from the ancient ſimplicity, was famous for his taſte in articles of luxury, was the firſt who invented the method of cutting the ſhell into plates, in order to uſe it in different ſorts of utenſils. Since that time, the

method of caſting it and molding it into different forms has been found out.

To this unwieldineſs of the tortoiſe, nature has oppoſed in the Indies the agility of the flying fiſh. Thus certain water animals are called, (p) which from time to time, come from the ſea and rivers, and diſperſe themſelves over the meadows, jumping about like frogs.

They are called *Hoangciogu*, according to father Martini, who ſays (q) it is a yellow fiſh, or rather a bird; for in ſummer it flies upon the mountains; and after autumn betakes itſelf to the ſea, and becomes very delicate. He talks of another kind of animal ſeen about the ſea of Canton, which has the head of a bird and the tail of a fiſh. Theſe flying fiſh are likewiſe found in America (*), they come out of the water in great flocks, and fly about the height of two yards, the diſtance of a hundred paces, but no farther, becauſe their wings dry in the ſun. They very much reſemble herrings, and their wings are like thoſe of the bat.

Nothing was more famous than the purple. The Phenicians were acquainted with it; and it became the ſource of their riches and luxury. But the word purple (r) is very equivocal of itſelf, whether it be taken for the colour, or the

(p) Theophr. apud Athenæum, l. viii. p. 332. Vide Caſaub. animadverſiones, l. viii. c. 2. Arabian voyages publiſhed by the Abbè Vertot, p. 35.

(q) Mart. Atlas Sin. p. 171, & 173.

(*) Hiſtory of the Antilles, c. i. art. 1.

(r) Plin. l. ix. c. 36, & ſeq. Ælian l. vii. Idem, l. viii. c. 34. & l. xvi. c. 1. Vide Boch. part I. l. v. c. 11. Athen. Deipn. l. iii. p. 86. Pier. hieroglyph. l. xxviii. fol. 204, & ſeq.

fiſh from whence it was drawn. We want proper terms to expreſs the different ſorts of ſhell-fiſh from whence this famous and precious tincture came; and the greateſt part of authors, eſpecially the poets, have confounded the true purple with the *conchylium*, the *murex*, and the *buccinus*. It is however certain, that theſe were ſo many different fiſhes which agreed only in kind, as being ſhell-fiſh; but produced each their proper colour, or at leaſt their particular ſhades; ſuch as the celeſtial blue, the deep blue, the ſimple violet, the crimſon violet, or the flame colour. Beſides, as there were ſeveral kinds of purple, ſome more eſteemed than others, it cannot be doubted that it was the tincture which occaſioned the difference. The *buccinus* reſembled the trumpet of the ancients; hence has come the word *buccina*, which ſignifies trumpets at preſent. The purple fiſh on the contrary was ſtreight; the ſhell ended in a point, it was twiſted like a ſcrew, and every year increaſed one round till they reached to ſeven. They fiſhed for them in the ſpring, with a net made of cords or oſiers, in which they put a fiſh whoſe blood they uſed to ſuck. This it did ſo greedily, that the tongue ſwelled ſo that it could not draw it back. Then the fiſherman took up the net, and cruſhed at one blow the ſhell and fiſh, for if it languiſhed but one moment it loſt all it's virtue; he immediately opened the principal vein of the tongue, and the liquor which came thence was that dye ſo much ſought after. Sometimes they dyed entire pieces of

ſtuff, at other times only the ſilk thread; and in working it, placed a ſtripe of purple and of white alternately. But in whatever manner it was employed, it bore ſuch a price, that none but princes or the opulent could wear it. It was of this ſtuff, either plain or ſtriped, that the robes of the Perſian kings were made. That which Alexander found in the palace of Perſepolis, was reckoned the moſt precious part of the booty, and was valued at an immenſe ſum. It is not known how this dye came afterwards to be ſo much neglected, that the ſecret was entirely loſt, and none are now acquainted with the manner of dying the ancient purple.

This was not the only riches which the Indians drew from the ſea; the luxury and fancy of mankind, converted into treaſures, that which chance had thrown into the way of the fiſhermen, and which they had deſpiſed for a long time. Vanity ſtamped a value upon it, and when once men had got a taſte that way, they ſet no bounds to their expence, nor to the dangers which they made thoſe run who wanted to draw profit from their extravagant paſſion. This may be juſtly applied to the pearl in every point. The fiſh which produces it (*s*) is a ſort of oyſter much larger than our's, and very common on the coaſts of Ormus, Comorin, and Ceylon or Taprobane; it is called *the mother of pearl.*

(*s*) Plin. l. ix. c. 35. Ælian. l. x. c. 13. l. xv. c. 8. Athen. l. iii. p. 93. fuſe. Nat. hiſt. of the Indies by Joſeph Acoſta, l. iv. c. 15. Gener. hiſt of the Indies by Lopez Gomara, l. vi. Voyages to the Indies, t. v. p. 265. Amm. Marcel. l. xxviii. c. 12.

In order to take it, there are no dangers to which the fiſhers do not expoſe themſelves. They muſt plunge twenty or thirty fathoms into a ſea filled with monſters that thirſt for human blood. Inſtead of an anchor to faſten their boat, they throw into the water, a ſtone fixed to a rope, and then dive in ſearch of the ſhells, having a bag hung about their neck, and two ſtones at their ſides to ſupport them againſt the waves (*t*). The larger the oyſters are, they are found the farther out at ſea; and if at any time they are found near the ſhore, they muſt have been driven thither by ſtorms. When the fiſh finds that the divers are going to lay hold of him, he fixes himſelf ſo firmly to the rocks, that he is not torn away but with great difficulty; frequently they are obliged to leave him, and even ſometimes miſtake him for a ſtone. It is in this ſhell-fiſh that the pearls are found, like little drops of water, which harden in the air, and are afterwards cleanſed by art. There are ſome oyſters which have twenty pearls and more (*u*), but then they are very ſmall. When there is but one, it's largeneſs and quality render it more valuable than the great number of the others. Even the ſhell of this fiſh bears a price; this is what is called *mother of pearl*. We may judge by the pieces

(*t*) Mandelſlo ſays, that in Perſia, the head of the fiſher is encloſed in a caſe of dreſſed leather, which has no other opening but by a pipe reaching above the water, p. 72. But this appears to be impoſſible, for how can it be tied ſo cloſe around the neck as to hinder the water from entering, without ſtrangling the fiſher?

(*u*) Conſult upon this affair Tavernier's travels to the Indies, tom. IV. l. ii. c. 20, & 21.

we have of it, of what bigneſs they commonly are.

Philoſtratus (x) relates a particular method of ſome Indian fiſhers. They carry a veſſel filled with an odoriferous balſam, and lay it before the mother-pearls, who ſuck it greedily. As they are filling themſelves, they open the joint of the ſhells with a punch, from whence iſſues a white liquor, drop by drop, which becomes hard immediately afterwards, and forms the pearl. If this is true, that oyſter muſt have been of a different ſpecies from the reſt, altho' Pliny and Atheneus ſeem to ſay, that the pearl proceeds from the flowing of a liquor.

At this day, in ſome iſlands ſubject to the Indian kings, there is no tax on the ſale of pearls (y), but the prince raiſes a very conſiderable ſum by hiring out the ſtones neceſſary for the fiſhery. They are moſt plentiful at the iſland Manar, near Ceylon (z), which the Dutch took from the Portugueſe. Thoſe who fiſh there pay a tribute to the Dutch, who employ a Brachman to buy up almoſt all the pearls they get, and they have them commonly at a very eaſy rate; by theſe means the fiſhers have but little for their trouble, and the Dutch make great profits. The ſame thing is done at Tutucorim, oppoſite to the iſland Manar. The pearls of theſe fiſheries are much finer than thoſe found in the Perſian ſea near Bahrein,

(x) Philoſt. in vita Apollonii, l. iii. c. 57.
(y) Travels of Le Brun, 332.
(z) Travels of Thevenot, tom. III. part I. l. ii. c. 11.

but

but they are not ſo large. Theſe two fiſheries of the Indies have been ſometimes ſpoiled, by throwing to the bottom of the ſea, a certain drug which drives away the mother of pearl, and prevents them from returning thither for ſeveral years. Thoſe who did this, went immediately to the coaſts whither they knew they had retired, and became rich before it was known that the fiſhery there was worth the labour. Some centuries ſince they have been found in the north-ſea (*a*). Ammianus Marcellinus ſays, that in his time they were likewiſe found in the Britiſh ſea; but theſe were far inferior to the Indian pearls.

Although we have already ſpoken of the crocodile of Egypt, yet we cannot omit ſaying ſomething in this place of thoſe found in the Indies and the neighbouring iſlands. The moſt monſtrous which nature produces (*b*), are ſeen in the marſhes on the banks of the Ganges; and thoſe ſo large that a man may ſtand upright between the two jaws when their throat is open. This animal, according to naturaliſts, grows all his life-time, and lives a long time. The lateſt accounts relate, that ſome have been taken in the iſland Madagaſcar, ten toiſes in length, that is to ſay, ſixty feet, comprehending the tail, which is commonly as long as the reſt of the body. As he can only live in hot countries, and grows in proportion to the degree of heat,

(*a*) Nat. hiſt. of the Indies, l. iv. c. 15.

(*b*) Herod. l. ii. Cteſias, n. 27. Ariſtot. l. ii. c. 10. Ælian. variis in locis. Plin. l. viii. c. 29. Strabo, l. xv. p. 696. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9. Voſſ. de idolol. l. iii. c. 47, & ſeq. Ruyſch. tom. ii. p. 141. Pier. hierogl. l. xxix. fol. 205, & ſeq.

it

it is not ſurpriſing that none of them have been ſeen in France before 1681 (c); and even thoſe who carried him by land from Rochelle, were obliged to ſet him frequently before the fire to keep him alive. He eat no more after he came out of the veſſel, and died after he had been kept near a month at Verſailles. When he was diſſected, nothing was found in his ſtomach but ſmall ſand and ſnails in the ſhell. Herodotus, Ariſtotle, and Pliny ſay, that he eats nothing during the four winter months. The experiment has been made upon lizards, which have been found to live two months without taking any nouriſhment; and the crocodile is a ſpecies of the lizard. The Indians take him (d) by extending three or four rows of large nets acroſs the river, in which he entangles himſelf. Afterwards they draw him out of the water, where he ſtruggles till all his ſtrength is exhauſted; they wound him in ſeveral places to weaken him by the loſs of blood; they ſhut his mouth faſt, and with the ſame rope tie his tail to his head, and his claws above his back, in order to deprive him of all motion, without however putting him to death.

It would be eaſy to enter into a more minute detail of the extraordinary ſorts of fiſhes found in the Indian ſeas and rivers. Nothing would be required for that purpoſe but to follow Geſnerus, Aldrovandus, and Ruyſch. This laſt gives the deſcription and figures of three hundred

(c) Mem. de l'Acad. t. III. part iii. p. 161.
(d) Idem, tom. III. part ii. p. 255.

aquatic

aquatic animals of different kinds, which travellers have diſcovered ſince the eſtabliſhment of trade and navigation. But we have not undertaken a compleat natural hiſtory. Our intention is only to furniſh ſome particular hints of animals which have excited the admiration and curioſity of all ages. We ſhall obſerve the ſame method in treating of birds.

The eagle has been always reckoned the king of this ſpecies (*e*), whether on account of the ſuperiority of his ſtrength, the terror which he inſpires into ſo many other animals on whom he preys, his natural fierceneſs, or the rapidity and elevation of his flight. Theſe properties determined C. Marius, conſul for the ſecond time, in the year of Rome 650, and before Jeſus Chriſt 103, to ſuppreſs (*f*) the figures of the wolf, the minotaur, the horſe, and the wild boar, which were carried at the head of the Roman legions, and to ſubſtitute in their ſtead an eagle half diſplayed, as an emblem which included the meaning of all the reſt, and which was more proper (*g*) to excite ardor, courage, and emulation among the ſoldiers. Ariſtomenes cauſed one to be engraved on his ſhield with the ſame deſign (*h*).

(*e*) See the third ode of the fourth book of Horace,

Qualem miniſtrum fulminis alitem.

(*f*) Plin. x. c. 4. Noel le Compte gives a more ancient origin according to the fable. Mythol. l. ii. p. 85.

(*g*) The effect of this may be ſeen in Valer. Maximus, l. i. c. 6. n. 11.

(*h*) Pauſan. l. iv. p. 319.

Of

Of the ſix kinds of eagles which Pliny *(i)* diſtinguiſhes, the beſt known and moſt remarkable are theſe two, the melanaëtos and the haliaëtos, to which Ruyſch adds the chryſaëtos, whoſe nature is nearly the ſame. It is not eaſy to determine the ordinary ſize of this bird. The Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences *(l)* giving a deſcription of an eagle diſſected at Paris, ſay, ſhe was two feet nine inches in length from the extremity of the bill to that of the tail, and ſeven feet and a half from the end of one wing to the other, when extended to their full length, and that the entire animal weighed ten pounds. But this certainly was not of the large kind. There was a neſt of them found in Europe, between Miſena and Dreſden, in which there were three young ones *(m)*, and tho' they were not yet in a condition to fly, their wings taken together were ſeven yards in length. If it is true that this bird lives a century *(n)*, and increaſes in bulk till his death, what Atheneus *(o)* ſays may be believed, that eagles were carried by way of ornament at the triumph of Ptolemy, whoſe wings were twenty cubits long. Thoſe of the Indies having been always reckoned of a ſuperior quality to the reſt, they ought likewiſe to exceed them in bigneſs.

(i) Pauſan. c. 3. Ariſtot. l. ix. c. 32. Ruyſch, tom. i. de avibus, c. 1, & ſeq.
(l) Tom. III. part ii. p. 89.
(m) Ruyſch, tom. i. de avibus, c. 1.
(n) Bochart. Hiero. part 1. l. 1. c. 3.
(o) Deipn. l. v.

Natu-

Naturaliſts (p) have remarked, that the eagle has a quick threatening eye, a little ſunk in the head, and protected by the prominency of the bone of the forehead which reſembles an eye-brow, underneath which is a very hard and bony ledge, compoſed of ſeveral ſtones, joined and placed above one another like ſcales; the colour of the eye is a very lively yellow, and has the ſplendor of a topaz. The tongue does not terminate in a point like that of other birds, but is cartilaginous, and almoſt ſquare at the end; and has at it's root two hard points like unto thoſe which are at the bottom of the iron point of an arrow. The gullet ſhews the voracity of this animal. When it is blown up in order to be dilated, it ſwells to two inches of diameter. The bones are very hard, and have little marrow in them. It is ſaid, the brain is ſo hot, that when taken in powder, it is liable to occaſion madneſs. The blood is thick and fibrous; the gall ſharp and biting, and immediately makes every thing which it touches ruſty; even the feathers are corroſive, and conſume other feathers when mixed with them.

The voracity of this animal is ſo great, that he ravages all the neighbouring places, which are ſcarce ſufficient to furniſh him with prey neceſſary for his ſupport. Hence it is remarked, that two eagles are not to be found in the ſame quarter. Ariſtotle and Pliny ſay, that the eagles chace their young ones, not only out of their airies or neſts, but even out of the country

(p) Mem de l'Acad. Ruyſch & Aldrovand. ornithologia, l. ii. c. 2. Pier. hierogl. l. xix.

where

where they inhabit, when they begin to be able to fly. They are not contented with the large birds they take, ſuch as hens, geeſe, and cranes, but likewiſe purſue rabbits, hares, ſheep, and kids, which they lift from the ground and carry off. Ælian (q) relates ſomething ſtill more extraordinary, which happened in the iſland of Crete. An eagle of a prodigious ſize attacked the bulls with as much boldneſs as the weakeſt and moſt fearful animals; and his fury ſupplied him with addreſs to overcome them. After having placed himſelf between their horns, he tore their head with the ſtrokes of his bill; frequently he beat out their eyes, or covered them with his wings, until the furious bull running about every where, threw himſelf into a marſh or over a precipice; the eagle then compleated his death by tearing out his belly, and made him his prey. Thus living only on the fleſh of animals which he kills, he quenches his thirſt with their blood, and never drinks water but when he is ſick. It is ſaid (r) that the ſwan is the only bird which can reſiſt him, and that frequently he does it with ſucceſs. An ancient author has left us a curious deſcription of the fighting of theſe two birds, but it appears to be founded rather on his own imagination than on the truth. All the other animals are afraid of the eagle to a ſovereign degree (s); they quake and tremble at his cry, and even

(q) Ælianus, de animal. l. ii. c. 39.
(r) Statius Thebaid. l. iii.
(s) Ariſtot. l. ix. c. 1. Ælian. l. ii. c. 26: Ovid. Met. l. viii. Fab. ii. Iſidor. Origin. l. xii. c. 7.

the

the dragon when he hears him takes refuge in his den. Fiſhes are not ſafe from his voracity. He perceives them even in the bottom of the water as he is ſkimming over the ſea or the lakes; he plunges immediately down with the rapidity of an arrow, and drags them to the bank where he devours them. On this account the Indians carry on a mortal war againſt him (*t*), and ſhoot at him with burning arrows. He is ſaid to hate the wren, and be afraid of it.

Sharpneſs of ſight is another quality of the eagle, which ſets him above all other animals. He ſeems even to be ſenſible of that advantage, and ſolicitous to preſerve it in his ſpecies. As ſoon as his young (*u*) begin to have ſtrength, he turns them towards the ſun, and makes them fix their eyes upon it. If he finds one of the three who cannot bear the heat and force of his rays, he chaces him from the neſt, as if he judged him unworthy to live and belong to him. He attaches himſelf to the reſt with a remarkable affection, even to the expoſing his life to preſerve them, and fighting obſtinately againſt all thoſe who would take them from him. He is ſeen fluttering in various ways round his neſt to teach them to fly. He takes them afterwards upon his back; he carries them up higher at different times; he quits them in the middle of his courſe in order to prove them;

(*t*) Philoſtrat. vita Apollon. l. ii. c. 3.
(*u*) Plin. l. x. c. 4. Ælian. l. ii. c. 40. Lucan. civ. bel. l. ix. v. 902. Claudian. præfat. in conſulat. Honorii Auguſti.

and

and if he perceives that they cannot as yet ſupport themſelves alone, and that they are in danger of falling, he darts himſelf below them with the greateſt rapidity, and receives them between his wings. He is the only bird into whom nature has inſtilled this kind of inſtitution, which the Scripture *(x)* has choſen as an expreſſive ſymbol of the tenderneſs with which God protected his people in the wilderneſs.

By theſe firſt inſtructions the eagle learns to carry his flight to the higheſt regions of the air, where he vaniſhes from our eyes, notwithſtanding his bulk, and always tends towards the ſun. Hence proceeded the fable of Ganymede carried off by an eagle to ſerve the gods with nectar. Superſtition has added that he carried the ſouls of heroes to heaven *(y)*. It is ſaid *(z)*, that the reaſon why eagles, who have not the fibres of their eyes ſtronger than other animals, can look ſo ſtedfaſtly on the ſun, and ſupport it's rays ſo eaſily, is, becauſe they have two eye-lids; one, with which they ſhut the eyes entirely; and another, which is thinner, with which they cover them when they look upon a luminous object, to render in that manner the light more ſupportable. But that interior eye-lid is not mentioned in the anatomy of the eagles in the Memoirs of the Academy; altho' the eye is there very minutely deſcribed. However it be,

(x) Sicut aquila provocans ad volandum pullos, & ſuper eos volitans. Expandit alas ſuas & aſſumpſit eum, atque portavit in humeris ſuis. Deuteron. c. xxxii. v. 11.

(y) Vide Kippingum. Antiquit. Rom. p. 509, & ſeq.

(z) P. Ange jeſuite, traité d'Optique.

it is agreed that the eagle riſes towards the ſun to a prodigious height. To this inſtinct he owes the renewing of his ſtrength and youth, in which the learned, and even the critics themſelves, are agreed. Every ten years (*a*) his feathers become heavy and leſs proper for flight. He then makes an effort, he approaches nearer the ſun than uſual; and after being exceſſively heated, he plunges immediately in the ſea; his feathers fall off, and others grow again which reſtore him to his primitive ſtrength. It is perhaps this that David meant to expreſs by theſe words, *Thy youth ſhall be renewed like that of the eagle* (*b*).

Ælian (*c*) attributes to him a peculiar inſtinct of gratitude. He ſays, that one which Pyrrhus had brought up, and which followed him every where, was ſo ſenſible of the death of that illuſtrious warrior, that he would not quit his body, or thenceforth take any nouriſhment. Another threw himſelf into the pile where he ſaw them burning the corps of him who had kept him till that moment. In the neſt or airy of this bird is found a ſtone called *aëtites*, ſaid to be of ſovereign uſe in promoting the delivery of women (*d*).

The oſtrich is to other birds with reſpect to it's bulk, what the eagle is with reſpect to the ſuperiority of his properties. The eight which

(*a*) Bochart. Hiero. part II. l. ii. c. 2, & ſeq.
(*b*) Pſalm. cii.
(*c*) De animalibus, l. ii. c. 40.
(*d*) Plin. & alii.

were

were diſſected at Paris, and of which M. Perrault gives the deſcription, were pretty near of the ſame ſize (e). They were ſeven feet from the top of the head to the ground; viz. about four feet from the higheſt part of the back to the ſoal of the feet, and three from the beginning of the neck to the top of the head. From thence to the rump, the neck being extended in a right line with the back, they were ſix feet in length. The tail was one; the wings without the feathers one and a half; and three with the feathers.

Every thing appears ſingular in that animal. His head, which he carries as ſtreight and erect as the camel, whoſe name the ancients have given him, ſomewhat reſembles that of the gooſe, with this difference, that the bill is not ſo long; that he has a great opening in his noſtrils, according to ſome, his eyes very round and threatening, the neck, the head and the thighs without feathers, and two toes only to each foot.

They make tippets of this creature's feathers, and tho' all the world is acquainted with them, it will not be amiſs to take notice of their ſingular nature. They are commonly black and white alternately, and ſome of them grey; thoſe we ſee of other colours are dyed. All other birds have feathers of two kinds; ſome ſoft and lanuginous, to ſerve them by way of furs, and to

(e) Mem. de l'Acad. tom. III. part iii. p. 113. See alſo Pierius hierogl. l. xxv.

preſerve them from the cold and water; the reſt hard and fit for flight. Thoſe of the oſtrich on the contrary, are all almoſt as ſoft and tender as down; and are neither ſerviceable for flight nor cover them ſufficiently to defend them from external injuries. It is likewiſe remarked that thoſe of the wings have another property which is peculiar to them; theſe of other birds have always one ſide larger than the other, and terminate in a point; but thoſe of the oſtrich have the quill exactly in the middle of the feather. There is reaſon to believe that this equality gave occaſion to the Egyptian hieroglyphic *(f)*, which repreſents juſtice by the feather of an oſtrich.

The better to underſtand the difference between theſe feathers and thoſe of other birds, it muſt be remarked that nature has formed the laſt in ſuch a manner as to be proper for flight, and this depends on two cauſes. The firſt, that the air ſhould give great reſiſtance to the depreſſion of the wing, that the bird may ſupport itſelf the better; the ſecond, that the air ſhould give the leaſt reſiſtance poſſible to the elevation of the wing, ſo that in raiſing itſelf the bird may not loſe the advantage he has already gained by the firſt depreſſion; and that the effort he makes in raiſing the wing, ſhall be leſs than that which he makes in lowering it. It is for theſe reaſons that the quill of their feathers, eſpecially of their wings, has a ſtiffneſs in it throughout it's whole length; that the fibres

(f) See Pierius hierogl. l. xxv. p. 178.

of

of the plume which adhere to it, tho' very tender, are bound to it all along; and laſtly, that they are rounded and pliant from above, and form a kind of cavity and reſiſtance from below, the arrangement whereof augments their force, by ſupporting one another, as is ſeen in the wing, of which we principally ſpeak.

But all this mechaniſm, ſo worthy of admiration, is wanting in the feathers and wings of the oſtrich. For the fibres which are at each ſide of the quill, are never linked with one another, but are looſe and flexible. Not being crooked, but ſtreight and equal, they have none of the diſpoſitions neceſſary to facilitate that interlacing which we ſee in thoſe of other birds. This obſervation gave Ariſtotle (*g*) occaſion to ſay, that the feathers of the oſtrich are like the ſkins of terreſtrial animals, that is to ſay, fitter to cover their body than for flight. Thus he never raiſes himſelf from the earth: but runs with ſuch ſwiftneſs that he is only hunted him with grey-hounds, or very light horſes (*h*), trained for that purpoſe. The barbs of Africa which are the fitteſt for it, are ſold for a hundred ducats. All naturaliſts have believed that the motion of the oſtrich's wings contribute no leſs to the ſwiftneſs of his pace, than the height and firmneſs of his legs. But M. Perrault makes it appear, in the Memoirs of the Academy (*i*), that

(*g*) De animalibus, l. iv. c. 4.

(*h*) Ælian. l. ii. c 27. Plin. l. x. c. 1. Job, c. xxxix. v. 18. deridet equum et aſcenſorem ejus.

(*i*) Tom. cit. p. 120, & ſeq.

the ſingular nature of that animal's feathers, could be of no ſervice to him for that purpoſe; and that they are of no farther uſe to him, than ſtreamers are to a ſhip, and not like the ſails, as had before been the univerſal opinion. The motion of the oſtrich's wings, ſays he, can be of uſe to him in no other manner than as the tail is to fiſhes, which has a motion proper to advance them in their courſe: but it is certain that his feathers cannot produce that effect, being ſo diſordered and ſo looſe as they are; for it would be neceſſary for this, that the organ were an even plain, equal and firm, ſuch as a rudder, an oar, or the ſail of a windmill; which it is not. It is probable that the author of the book of Job had reflected on all theſe particulars, when he deſcribes (*k*) the oſtrich as an animal to whom God had denied the dexterity he had given to other birds, and that he has not provided him with organs fit for exerciſing the wonderful action of flight, making no other uſe of his wings, than to raiſe them to receive the impulſe of the wind, when it is favourable to his courſe. It has likewiſe been lately remarked, that in hunting the oſtrich, he has frequently ſo little addreſs in managing the wind which blows upon his wings, that the hunters draw an advantage from it, by purſuing him on that ſide whence the wind comes, which commonly makes him ſtumble when it is high. It is ſaid that he has addreſs to take ſtones in his paws,

(*k*) Job, c. xxxix. v. 13.

and throws them with great dexterity at the hunters who ſhoot at him (*l*).

The inward part of this animal is not leſs remarkable than his outward. We ſhall only ſpeak of his ſtomach, in which the hardeſt ſubſtances are diſſolved; and we ſhall ſtill follow what M. Perrault relates of one of theſe oſtriches which were diſſected. The gizzard of that creature was an oval ſpace, fifteen inches in length, and eight in breadth. It was divided within into two cavities by an eminence formed by the muſcular fleſh, which towards the middle was thicker than any where elſe by about two inches. Theſe two cavities were found full of graſs, hay, barley, beans, bones and pebbles, ſome whereof were as large as a pullet's egg; and about ſeventy ſmall pieces of copper coin. Theſe were worn away and conſumed about three fourths, being ſcratched by their rubbing upon one another and upon the pebbles; and not by any eroſion which an acid humour or ſpirit had occaſioned; for ſome of the pieces which were bent and hollow'd on one ſide, were ſo ſmooth on the oppoſite ſide, that no traces of the impreſſion could be obſerved; whereas the hollow ſide was not in the leaſt damaged, it's cavity having preſerved it from the effects of the friction. All the other ſubſtances contained in the gizzard, whether ſtones, legumes, hay or bones, were become green.

Ancient naturaliſts have not then attended to

(*l*) Ælian. de animal. l. iv. c. 37.

that greenneſs and attrition of the pieces of braſs, when they ſaid that the ſtones and iron which the oſtriches ſwallowed, diſſolved in their ſtomachs by a particular virtue which nature had given to the ſtomachs of different animals, whereby ſome digeſted fiſh, others ſtones and raw fleſh, and that the oſtrich had been provided with the power of digeſting metals and ſtones. For if the ſtomach of that creature had a particular faculty of digeſting metals, it would digeſt them in the ſame manner as other things, by melting and diſſolving them; but this is contrary to experience, which ſhews that the diſſolution of metals was brought about in the ſtomach in the ſame manner it would have been, out of it, if the braſs had been moved about and pounded with the herbs, or any ſalt or acid liquor, of what nature ſoever it be. It is therefore probable that the oſtrich being a voracious animal, which has occaſion to ſwallow ſomething hard to aſſiſt him in digeſting his food, abuſes the inſtinct nature has given him for that purpoſe, when he ſwallows iron, and eſpecially braſs, which changes into a poiſon in his ſtomach, inſtead of being turned into a nouriſhment. In fact, we learn from thoſe who keep theſe animals in the menagery at Verſailles, that the oſtriches who ſwallow a great deal of iron and braſs, die ſoon after, and that they have orders to prevent any being thrown to them.

The extreme heat of this creature's temperament contributes not a little to it's fertility. She lays commonly four and twenty eggs, every one

of which weighs twelve or fifteen pounds, and might ſerve for a meal to ſix or ſeven perſons. Their ſhell is almoſt as hard as a ſtone. And thus it is not out of fear of breaking her eggs, that the oſtrich abandons them, leaving to the ſun the care of hatching her young; it is more likely that it is either thro' neglectfulneſs, for ſhe lays them in different places and covers them with ſand; or by a natural inſenſibility which the ſcripture (*m*) makes a ſymbol of cruelty. The young fare not the leſs happily; for the oſtriches are ſeen in flocks in many iſlands of the Indies, in Arabia, Syria, Africa, and South America. The Arabs have been ſo credulous as to ſay, that the oſtrich hatches his eggs by looking at them only. In this manner a traveller expreſſes himſelf (*n*): "I have read in an old Arabian manuſcript, that when that bird is about to hatch his eggs, he does not ſeat himſelf upon them like others, but the male and female hatch them with their looks alone; and when one of them is obliged to go in ſearch of food, he gives notice of it to his companion by his cry, who remains, continuing to look upon the eggs, till the other returns; and likewiſe, when this laſt in his turn is obliged to go in ſearch of food, he gives notice to his companion in the ſame manner, that he may remain, and that thus one of them may be continually looking upon the eggs, till the chicks are hatched; for if they ſhould inter-

(*m*) Job, c. xxxix. v. 14, & ſeq. Item Jerem. Thren. c. iv. v. 3: Vide Bochart. Hieroz. part I. l. i. c. 3.

(*n*) Le P. Vanſleb, relat. d' Egypte, p. 103.

mit

mit one moment, they would corrupt, and produce no chick." But this pretended obſervation is a fable deſerving no credit. The Ethiopians eat theſe eggs (*o*), and reckon them an exquiſite diſh. They make veſſels of their ſhells, and even caps, which they hold in great eſteem. Altho' the fleſh of this bird has both a bad taſte and ſmell, the people of Numidia ſcruple not to eat it. On the other hand, the brain muſt have a peculiarly excellent reliſh, ſince the emperor Heliogabalus cauſed thoſe of ſix hundred oſtriches to be ſerved up at a great feaſt which he gave to all his court (*p*). Ælian ſays, that the Indian kings hold them likewiſe in great requeſt (*q*).

Before the year 1597 (*r*), there never had been a caſoar ſeen in Europe, and neither ancient nor modern author had ſpoke of it. The Dutch brought one at their return from their firſt voyage to the Eaſt-Indies. It had been given them as a rarity by a prince of the iſland of Java. In 1671, the governor of Madagaſcar ſent one to the king, which he had bought of the merchants who were returning from the Indies, and which lived four years at Verſailles. This was the firſt that had been ſeen in France, and ſince that, ſeveral have been carried thither, which have been examined and diſſected by the gentlemen of the Academy of Sciences.

This bird is, next to the oſtrich, the largeſt of all thoſe we are acquainted with. One of theſe

(*o*) Marmol. deſcript. de l' Afrique.
(*p*) Lampridius in Heliogabalo.
(*q*) Plin. l. xiv. c. 13.
(*r*) Mem. de l'Acad. tom. III. part. iii. p. 155, & ſeq.

which

which was diſſected at Paris, was five feet and a half long from the extremity of his bill to that of his claws; his legs were two feet and a half long from the belly to the end of his claws; the head and the neck a foot and a half; the great toe, taking in the claw, was five inches in length; and the claw only of the little toe three inches and a half. But the wing, which conſiſts only of five bare quills, was ſo ſmall, that it did not appear, being concealed under the feathers of the back. From the figure in the Memoirs, we ſee, that the head, neck, and prominence of the ſtomach, in this animal, are without feathers; that the reſt of the body ſeems rather to be covered with a ſkin than with feathers; that the appendices of fleſh with which the bill of pullets is commonly furniſhed, are at the bottom of the neck in this bird; that the head is covered with a very large creſt, like that of a helmet; that the bill is cut in two at the extremity; that inſtead of feathers, the wings have but five quills without any plume, and that the rump and feet are very large and thick.

The covering of the body of the caſoar reſembles more a hide than feathers, their plumes are ſo pointed, ſo hard, and thin ſown. The moſt part of theſe feathers are double, having two long ſtems, coming out of the ſame quill, which is very ſhort; thoſe on the rump are ſomewhat more than a foot in length, reſembling the hair of a horſe, or the briſtles of a boar, without ſending out any fibres. The ſtem is flat, black and ſhining, knotty in the

the lower part; and from every knot proceeds a plume. The neck of the caſoar is entirely without hide or feathers, like the head of the Indian cock, and is interſperſed with blue, violet, and red ſpots.

Fable has been ſuperadded to hiſtory to make the pelican a perfect ſymbol of paternal tenderneſs, and of all that is moſt auguſt in religion. It is not yet known upon what authority the fathers of the church have advanced (*s*), that the female pelican kill'd her young, by careſſing and rubbing them with her bill; that ſhe ſtayed about them three days, ſhewing marks of the extremeſt grief; that the male, yet more ſenſible than her, wounded his breaſt with his bill, and that the blood which iſſued thence reſtored life to the young. Nothing ſimilar to this is found in any of the ancient naturaliſts that are known to us. It is, ſays Voſſius (*t*), a fable invented by a ſpirit fond of figures and hieroglyphics, to make an alluſion for Jeſus Chriſt, who has reſtored us to life by ſhedding of his blood.

It is true, there is ſomething in the pelican which might have given riſe to that notion, tho' in a very remote manner. That bird had two names among the ancients. Ariſtotle (*u*) and Ælian (*x*) call it the *pelican*, or *pelecan*, and Pliny (*y*) the *onocrotalus*. The firſt of theſe

(*s*) Phyſiologus Epiphanii, c. viii. Aug. in Pſ. 101. Iſidor. Origin. l. xii. c. 7. & alii. Vide Pierium hierogl. l. xx. p. 145, & ſeq.

(*t*) Voſſius de idolol. l. iii. c. 84.

(*u*) De animal. l. ix. c. 10.

(*x*) L. iii. c. 20.

(*y*) Plin. l. x. c. 47.

names

names ſignifies a thing that cuts or pierces, and the other the noiſe which the aſs makes by his braying. The moderns, who have been more attentive to the ſignification of theſe names, and to the relation which they have to the properties of different birds, than to the deſcription which the ancients have left us of it, are at a loſs to diſtinguiſh what bird ought to be called the pelican, and what the onocrotalus. Some believe that the bittern is the onocrotalus, becauſe he pierces the ground with his bill, and then makes a remarkable noiſe (*z*). Others would have it (*a*) that the pelican of the ancients is the ſame with what we call *la palette*, on account of the figure of his bill, which reſembles a hatchet. But we ſee from the Memoirs of the Academy, that nature has not formed it for that uſe. Voſſius (*b*) doubts not that it is the *picus martius*; and Bochart adduces ſeveral teſtimonies to prove that it is the *nicticorax* of David (*c*). Theſe inconſiſtencies have perhaps occaſioned father Hardouin (*d*) to ſay, that the pelican is an unknown and a fabulous bird.

Yet, the deſcription the ancients have left of it, agrees ſo perfectly with the obſervations of the moderns, that we cannot call in queſtion the exiſtence of that bird, whether we give it the name of the pelican, or the onocro-

(*z*) Belon, of birds, l. iii. c. 2.
(*a*) Mandelſlo, p. 88.
(*b*) Voſſius, loco citato.
(*c*) Hieroz. part II. l. ii. c 20. p. 276.
(*d*) Plin. l. x. c. 40.

talus,

talus, according to it's two different properties. Some of them belong to the land, others to the water, the figure of both being nearly the ſame. One of theſe deſcribed in the Memoirs of the Academy (*e*), was eleven feet from one extremity of the wings to the other; five feet from the end of the bill to that of the claws. The bill, which was an inch and eight lines in breadth, was fourteen inches long; the feet from the bottom of the belly to the extremity of the claws, were fifteen inches; the great toe four and a half, and the neck ten.

The ſtrength of this bird ſurpaſſes it's bulk. Aldrovandus (*f*) relates from Sanctius, that an onocrotalus let fall an Ethiopian infant which he had carried up to a great height, in the ſame manner as eagles ſometimes carry off rabbits and lambs to give them to their young. Like theſe laſt, which have the glory to ſoar above all the other birds, he takes his flight even to the clouds. Culmanus, in a letter written to Geſnerus a celebrated naturaliſt (*g*), talks of a tame onocrotalus, which roſe ſo high, as to appear no bigger than a ſwallow. After having followed for a long time the emperor Maximilian, flying above the army whenever it marched, it was afterwards maintained by order of that prince at the appointment of four crowns a day, and it is affirmed, lived four and twenty years in Germany. Theſe

(*e*) Tom. iii. part 3.
(*f*) Ornithol. l. xix. c. 2.
(*g*) Ornithol. l. iii.

obſer-

obſervations agree perfectly with thoſe made on ſeveral pelicans kept in the menagery of Verſailles in the reign of Lewis XIV. It was remarked that they were the only animals of which none had died during twelve years.

Of the two which were diſſected at Paris, the firſt had all white feathers, excepting in the wings, which in ſome places were brown and black; the white of the other feathers was mixed with a little red of a fleſh colour. The ſecond had no pure white, but was all over of a fleſh colour, without any black feathers. Some have been ſeen, grey over all the body, except at the extremity of the wings, which was white. Some have a tuft of feathers behind the head, others not; which ſhews there are ſome ſmall varieties in the plumage of that bird.

But it is eaſily diſtinguiſhed by a mark peculiar to it. It has under the bill, which as we have ſaid is fourteen inches long, a large bag reaching to the middle of the neck, which is without feathers, in which it keeps it's food, till it is prepared for digeſtion. When there is nothing there, which incommodes him, he ſwallows it entirely; but if he perceives any thing indigeſted, he throws it all up, and picks out what is good. The ancients have particularly taken notice of this as well as the moderns. The water pelicans, ſays Ariſtotle (*b*), ſwallow a great many ſhell-fiſh, which they keep till the heat or the diſſolving liquor has opened them;

(*b*) De anim. l. ix. c. 10. & lib. memorabilium.

then

then throwing them up, take only that which is fit for eating. Ælian ſays the ſame thing in more expreſs terms (*i*). What he ſays elſewhere (*l*) of an Indian bird he calls *cela*, in every thing reſembles ſo entirely the onocrotalus, that Caſaubon has remarked it was the ſame bird under two different names. According to Pliny (*m*), the onocrotalus differs only from the gooſe in this, that he has under his throat a very large ſtomach, whence he draws out his food to chuſe what is proper for him.

John-George Volkamer in his Ephemerides of nature, ſays (*n*) that he ſaw at the fair of Leyden a pelican, which it's maſter had kept for fifty years. He was larger and ſtronger than an eagle, but very like that bird in ſhape and colour, except that from his head to his wings he had turned grey thro' age. He affirms that of all birds this is the longeſt liver, that he renews his age like the eagle, and often paſſes a century. He adds, that the falſe gullet under his neck, forms a capacity ſo large, that a man can put his hand into it, which he did; that he handled the food contained there; that he found it half digeſted, and ſo hot as to burn his hands; and that this animal draws it from thence to give to his young.

Since the ancients have obſerved as well as

(*i*) De anim. l. iii. c. 20.
(*l*) L. xvi. c. 4.
(*m*) Hiſt. nat. l. x. c. 47.
(*n*) Decad. iii. an. iv. p. 247, & ſeq.

Volkamer,

Volkamer, this ſingularity of the pelican, it is not to be doubted but that this is the only foundation of that alluſion of the fathers of the church, when they ſay this bird tears his entrails with his bill, in order to nouriſh or revive his young with the blood iſſuing from thence. But as much may be ſaid of the greateſt part of other birds, which every body knows can ſwallow a great quantity of food, with which they fill their gullet in order to carry it to their mate when ſhe is brooding, or to their young.

What the Latin fathers have attributed to the pelican, is nothing in compariſon of the puerile fables which the ancient Greeks have advanced about the phœnix, a bird as fabulous as their famous chimera. They repreſent it (o) of the bigneſs of the eagle, the head creſted with an exquiſite plumage, the feathers of the neck like gold, the reſt purple, the tail white, mixed with feathers of a carnation colour, and the eyes ſparkling like ſtars. Manilius the ſenator was the firſt who gave an account of it to the Latins at his return from an expedition to the eaſt. What he related, ſeemed ſo marvellous, that the report ſpread about every where. He was believed the more readily, becauſe he cited the uniform teſtimony of the Greeks and Orientals, and becauſe people could not hope to enquire into the fact themſelves.

Error was thus as well authoriſed as the moſt

(o) Herod. l. ii. Plin. l. x. c. 2. Solin. Polyhiſtor. c. 33. Pier. hierogl. l. xx. fol. 144.

undoubted fact; and they ſpoke of it as a thing confeſſed for certain by all the world. Saint Clement the pope (*p*), writing to the Corinthians, in the name of the church of Rome, uſes the example of the phœnix to prove to them the reſurrection; he relates every thing that had been ſaid extraordinary of that bird. He expreſſes himſelf in this manner. "Let us conſider that prodigy which happens in the eaſt, where we ſee a bird called the phœnix, the only one of it's ſpecies. This animal lives for the ſpace of five hundred years; and when he finds himſelf near death, he builds a neſt, of myrrh, incenſe, and other ſpices; he lays himſelf down in it, and after a certain time, ends his days. Out of his putrified fleſh there ariſes a ſort of worm, which being nouriſhed for ſome time by the ſubſtance of the animal, begins at firſt to be covered with feathers; and when become ſtronger, he takes the neſt in which are contained the bones of him who had given him birth; and paſſing from Arabia to Egypt, advances to the city of Heliopolis. There in full day, and in the ſight of all the ſpectators, he lays the bones on the altar of the ſun; and afterwards retires. The Egyptian prieſts immediately conſult their annals, where by exact computations they find that this bird has returned precifely at the end of five hundred years." From Italy this fable paſſed into Afric,

(*p*) S. Clem. epiſt. i. n. 25.

as we ſee by Tertullian (*q*), who cites this example to prove the ſame thing with ſaint Clement. But the ancients vary about the death of the phœnix. Moſt of them ſay (*r*), that when he finds his end approaching, he lays himſelf down on his funeral pile, to which he ſets fire by the beating of his wings, and the rays of the ſun; that in this ſituation he ſuffers himſelf to be conſumed, and that, from his aſhes his ſucceſſor ariſes; this is what has occaſioned him to be conſecrated to the ſun (*s*). His longevity is a ſecond ground of diſpute. A king of Ethiopia, whoſe letter to the pope is cited by Voſſius (*t*), allows him but three centuries. Herodotus, Ælian, Philoſtratus, Orus, Ovid, Tacitus, Victor, give him four hundred and forty, or five hundred years. Pliny, on the teſtimony of Manilius, ſays ſix hundred and ſixty. Martial and Lactantius, a thouſand; and the Arabian authors, the Egyptians and Rabbins, go far beyond it, becauſe, ſay they, he had not eaten the forbidden fruit (*u*). Notwithſtanding theſe contradictions, and the confeſſion of ſeveral of thoſe writers, who candidly own what is ſaid of the phœnix to be ambiguous, Tacitus does not call it's reality in queſtion, and ſeems convinced that that bird had been ſeen at certain times in

(*q*) Tertul. de reſur. carn. c. 12. p. 387.
(*r*) See the places cited by father Hardouin, at the beginning of the tenth book of Pliny; ſee alſo Gattaker. adverſar. l. p. 180.
(*s*) Tacit annal. l. vi. c. 28.
(*t*) De idolol. l. iii. c. 99.
(*u*) Vide Bochart. Hieroz. part II. l. vi. c. 5.

Egypt (*w*). Others ſay, that it had come to Rome, and that it's preſence had portended to the augurs (*x*) diſaſtrous events; ſuch as the death of Tiberius. Father Martinius aſſures us that it appeared in China at the beginning of the reign of Kahoar the fourth. Many hold that he comes from the Indies.

But to be aſſured that this extraordinary bird which thus appears, is the phœnix, it is neceſſary one ſhould be certain that it is the ſame which had appeared many ages before; it is neceſſary he ſhould be ſeen to riſe from the aſhes of the fleſh of his predeceſſor, without which it is impoſſible to define his birth, the length of his life, his ſingular death, and every thing which conſtitutes the wonderful in this bird. But this is impoſſible; for the greateſt part of authors bring him from the Indies, ſome from Arabia, others from the ſources of the Nile, and all from ſolitary and deſart places. Beſides, he is a bird of paſſage, who does not give people time to examine him, and who returns not, ſay they, but after ſeveral ages. It is giving weight to ſuch fictions to take up time in refuting them.

The error proceeds from the ambiguity (*y*) of the word phœnix, or φοῖνιξ, which ſignifies equally a palm tree, or a bird of that name. Becauſe the pith of the palm tree is very nouriſh-

(*w*) Ubi ſupra. Aurel. Victor ſays that it appeared in the ſixth year of the emperor Claudius. In Claudio.

(*x*) Dion Caſſius, l. lvii. Xiph. in Tiberio.

(*y*) Bochart. loco cit. P. Le Brun. Pratiques ſuperſtit. t. i. c. 5.

ing,

ing, agreeable to the taſte and conducive to health; it has been ſaid that it preſerves life a long time, that it cures dangerous diſtempers, and draws people back from the gates and the arms of death. The ſame name of φοῖνιξ has occaſioned all theſe qualities to be transferred to the bird that bears it. It is of no conſequence to know whether the Greeks, the Rabbins, the Arabians, or the Egyptians begun the alluſion, and who embelliſhed it with the fine circumſtances, of the neſt, the perfumes, the burning, the death, the reſurrection, and the homage paid to the ſun in the city where he was adored. We know it has always been allowable for poets and painters to invent fictions, which would not be received if they came from any other perſons. A few worms accompanying the figure of a bird riſing from the aſhes, are ſufficient to give riſe to the miſtake, among people who entertained ſo readily ſuch imaginations, as thoſe we have now mentioned. Bede had diſcovered that ſource of the alluſion in writing on that part of the book of Job, where the holy man ſays (x), that he will die in the little neſt which he has made, and multiply his days like the palm tree; that is to ſay, in the figurative ſtile, like the phœnix. Tertullian, on the contrary (*), has ſubſtituted the compariſon of the bird to that of the tree, in theſe words of David; *Juſtus ut palma florebit.*

(x) Job, c. xxix. v. 18.
(*) De reſur. carn. c. 12. p. 387.

He has ſaid; *Florebit enim velut phœnix de funere, id eſt de morte.*

Altho' all theſe reflections were not unknown to Ceſar Scaliger (*a*), yet he pretends there was a real phœnix, and that it was the *ſemende* or *ſemendal*, which has been found in the ſouthern countries of the Indies. The bill of this bird (*b*) is pierced at three different places, like the pipes of an organ, thro' which he is ſaid to ſend forth wonderful ſounds, when at the point of death. He makes himſelf a pile of odoriferous woods, which he kindles by the beating of his wings; he burns himſelf in it, and from his aſhes ariſes a particular worm, which time changes into a bird. But the fable ſhews itſelf likewiſe in the imaginary properties of this animal. That melodious ſinging inſpired by the approaches of death, ſuch as is attributed to the ſwan and the phœnix, is a fabulous tale, of which no proof can be given (*c*), altho' it has been advanced that certain nations, accuſtomed to the exerciſes of a country life, underſtand the ſongs of birds, and the cries of animals. It is notwithſtanding true, according to the teſtimony of ſeveral ancients, that there is a bird in the Indies (*d*), perhaps ſingular in it's ſpecies, which lives in the midſt of flames

(*a*) Exercit. 233.

(*b*) Cardan. de ſubtilit. l. x. ex navigatione Nicolai Conti a Poggio data.

(*c*) Philoſt. in vita Apoll. Tyan. l. i. c. 20. & l. iii. c. 49. cum notis Olearii.

(*d*) Ex variis autoribus Arab. apud Bochart. ibid. p. 823.

without

without the leaſt hurt, lays it's eggs there, and and obliges it's young alſo to go into them. They made cloaths of it's feathers, and in order to cleanſe them threw them into the fire. Some have called that bird *ſemende* or *ſemendal*, and *ſalamander*. But this laſt is a kind of lizzard (*e*). If there was nothing extraordinary in this but the reſiſting the heat of an element which ſeems to be made for the deſtruction of every thing, it ought not (*f*) on that account be reckoned fabulous. Every body knows that there is in Lower Languedoc, a ſort of ſtuff made of a particular ſtone, called the *Alum of feathers*, which is uſed at table as an ordinary cloth, and thrown into the fire when it requires cleaning, in the ſame manner as we put ours out to waſh.

(*e*) See the Memoirs of the Academy, tom. III. part iii. p. 77. & Pier. hierogl. l. xvi. fol. 119, et ſeq.

(*f*) Caſaubon gives ſeveral examples of this In Athen. l. viii. c. 13. p. 619.

CHAP. VII.

The Revolutions of the ancient Indies.

IT would not be ſurpriſing, if in a particular hiſtory of the Indies, collected from ſo great a number of writers ancient and modern, the reader ſhould expect to find a ſucceſſion of thoſe princes, who have reigned in ſuch vaſt and flouriſhing countries. It would no doubt inform us of many intereſting events, both in peace and war, in arts and ſciences; it would make us acquainted with the character of the nation, and the kings who have governed it: and the hiſtory would be much more inſtructing and more amuſing. But whatever reſearches I have made into that affair, I have diſcovered nothing; and I can venture to ſay, there is no known writer who has given that ſucceſſion I wanted to find. All thoſe who have wrote of the Indies have only ſpoken as travellers, who attached themſelves more to the curioſities, to the remarkable things of the country, and to it's preſent ſtate, than to that which preceded their time. We have beſides, no native writers of the country, who have given us a ſucceſſion of their kings. So that it is not ſurpriſing it ſhould be entirely unknown to us.

It is however certain, that the government of the Indies was always monarchical; that the kings were more numerous there than in any other nation of the world; and that ſome of them had acquired an empire over many of the reſt.

reſt. Pliny (g), who had before him different relations, informs us that the Indians reckoned one hundred and fifty-three kings from the conqueſts of Bacchus to thoſe of Alexander the great, which were to them two memorable æras. It is true, that this number of ſovereigns becomes ſuſpicious by the exaggeration of the interval which it places between the two conquerors, in reckoning 6402 years and three months; unleſs their years, at leaſt in the ancient ages, were much ſhorter than our's, as they were among the ancient Egyptians. What he adds has nothing contrary to the rules of probability. He ſays, that the ſubjects of the king of the Gangarides maintained for him ſeventy thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and ſeven hundred elephants; that the Galmodreſians and their allies furniſhed to their prince, fifty thouſand foot, three thouſand horſe, and four hundred elephants; that the province of Andares, richer and larger than all the reſt, had for the defence of it's confines, one hundred thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and a thouſand elephants; that the country of the Praſians, of which Palimbrota was the capital, could raiſe ſix hundred thouſand infantry, thirty thouſand cavalry, and nine thouſand elephants. By the help of this feeble ray of light, we ſee, 1ſt, How well the Indies were peopled, ſince the military claſs alone furniſhed ſo many fighting men in every province; the reaſon of which is conceived to be, that the air

(g) Hiſt. nat. l. vi. c. 18, & 19.

was

was very pure, the aliments healthy and plentiful, and that the Indians never left their country to make ſettlements elſewhere. 2dly, It appears to have been an ancient cuſtom among them not to pay annual impoſts or ſubſidies to the prince; but to defray the expence of his houſehold and the troops, as was the practice among the Perſians their neighbours, under the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyſes. 3dly, We ſee how common elephants were in that country, and of what utility they were in war. 4thly, It appears on the contrary, that horſes were very ſcarce, ſince in their armies the cavalry bore no proportion to the infantry. Thoſe bred in that country are but indifferent; ſuch as are good, come from Perſia.

For want of better lights, we muſt have recourſe to ſome remarkable revolutions which occaſioned changes in the government of the weſtern part of the Indies. Theſe countries have been at all times the object of emulation to the heroes of Aſia, Egypt and Greece. Ancient tradition informs us that Bacchus and Hercules carried their arms thither. But as there were ſeveral conquerors of that name, authors *(b)* differ about thoſe who penetrated firſt into the Indies; and after long diſquiſitions, they leave us entirely in uncertainties and difficulties upon that point. It appears nevertheleſs, that

(*b*) See on that queſtion Lucian in Baccho. Arrian. de exped. Alex. p. 318, 319, & 321. Diod. l. ii. p. 123. Strabo. l. xv. p. 711. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 10. Philoſtrat. vita Apol. l. ii. c. 8, & 9. Plin. l. vi. c. 16, & 17.

this

this Bacchus was the ſon of Semele, but we can decide nothing about Hercules.

Megaſthenes ſays in Arrian *(i)*, that Semiramis, who had formed the project to conquer all Aſia, was ſurpriſed by death, when ſhe was preparing to march into the Indies.

Altho' Arrian calls in queſtion the expedition of Seſoſtris into theſe remote provinces, it is ſo formally atteſted *(l)* by others, that we cannot refuſe aſſent to their teſtimony. But it was attended with no conſequences with reſpect to government, that prince not having rendered thoſe nations tributary whom he had ſubdued by the terror of his arms, but reſting contented with having brought them under his power. His ſucceſſors did not even attempt to preſerve his conqueſts.

But the expedition of Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, was attended with conſequences more real. Confounded at his bad ſucceſs in the deſarts of Scythia, he turned his arms againſt the Indians. He entered into their country by ſurprize *(m)*, he reduced them to his obedience, and impoſed upon them a tribute of ſixty talents of gold, which amounts to eleven millions of livres a year; he made this conqueſt the twentieth ſatrapy of his empire, and rendered the people his vaſſals. They ſerved thenceforth in that quality under the enſigns of Perſia. We find them in the muſters of the armies of

(*i*) In Indicis, c. 5.
(*l*) Vid. l'hiſt. d'Egypte, p. 237, & ſeq.
(*m*) Vid. l'hiſt. des Perſes, p. 218.

Xerxes,

Xerxes, Ochus, and Darius Codomannus, the laſt of that monarchy.

It is probable the ſon of Hyſtaſpes carried his conqueſts no farther than the river Indus; but Alexander extended his much farther *(n)*. That prince, who was never ſucceſsfully oppoſed but by his own ſoldiers, had reſolved to puſh his fortune to the utmoſt, and penetrate to the extremity of the continent, and was preparing to paſs the Hyphaſis when the Macedonians refuſed to follow him. Thus the ancients could have no exact knowledge of the Indies beyond that river. Already had the conqueror reduced under his power the greateſt part of that vaſt realm. The report of his valour and of his victories over the Perſians and the Bactrians, had reſounded there a long time before his arrival. No ſooner was he entered upon the frontiers, than Taxila, one of the moſt illuſtrious princes of the nation, went to do homage to him for his crown. But the hero, contented with his ſubmiſſion, left him the throne of his anceſtors, and ſhewed him, that generoſity and greatneſs of ſoul, were no leſs prevalent in him, than thoſe warlike virtues which had ſpread his fame from ſo great a diſtance. Almoſt all the kings of the country followed the example of Taxila, and returned equally ſatisfied with their reception. Porus, who had made ſo much reſiſtance till it was out of his power to reſiſt any longer, was overcome leſs by the arms, than by the humanity

(*n*) Vid. l'hiſt. des Macedoniens, part v. l. v.

of Alexander. That prince treated him like a king, as he had required; he aggrandized the power of his ſceptre; he ſet him over the greateſt number of the kings who had become the vaſſals and tributaries of the Macedonian hero, and ordered that after his departure, Porus ſhould repreſent Alexander. We have taken notice above, that one of the ſucceſſors of that illuſtrious Indian king, ſent ambaſſadors to Ceſar, to let him know, that tho' he commanded over ſix hundred kings of his own nation, he was nevertheleſs ready to obey him, and follow him with all his ſubjects, wherever he ſhould be pleaſed to lead him.

The expedition of Antiochus the great into the Indies, does not appear to have been very conſiderable. He only made an alliance with Sophagazonius *(o)*, who gave him ſeveral elephants, and furniſhed him with proviſions. Not inclining to penetrate any farther, for reaſons with which hiſtorians do not acquaint us, he returned towards Arachoſia, leaving Androſthenes of Cyzicum to take care of the money which Sophazagonius had ſtipulated to give him.

(o) Polyb. hiſt. l. xi. c. 8.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Commerce of the Ancients to the Indies.

THAT knowledge which the Indians had of the valour and merit of the Roman conqueror, ſuppoſed an habitual and frequent commerce (*p*) with the weſtern nations from the time of the Macedonian war. The governors and the colonies which Alexander had left there, introduced into that country, not only the language (*q*), but the religion of the Greeks; and this occaſioned continual and reciprocal voyages from Greece, Syria, and Egypt to the Indies. The tempting recital which was made of theſe newly diſcovered kingdoms, engaged Ptolomy Philadelphus to ſend thither Megaſthenes and Dionyſius (*r*), in order to bring him an exact account of the nature of theſe countries, the genius of the people, and the power of their kings. But both the one and the other impoſed upon the public ridiculous fables, with which they thought to embelliſh their relations. Credulity muſt have been carried to the greateſt height, to believe the childiſh tales which they advanced, perhaps in order to improve on thoſe of Cteſias, Nearchus and Oneſicritus. Daïmachus

(*p*) Strabo, p. 118. Plin. l. vi. c. 23. Philoſt. in vita Apoll. l. iii. c. 35.
(*q*) Philoſt. in vita Apoll. l. iii. c 14.
(*r*) Plin. l. vi. c. 17. Strabo, l. ii. p. 70. & l. xv. per totum.

and

and Eratoſthenes trod pretty nearly in the ſame tract. They ſought rather after what was wonderful, than what was true.

The more they enlarged upon the curioſities and the riches of that country, the greater deſire they inſpired into the merchants to attempt a trade thither. Philadelphus, who had it no leſs at heart to enrich Egypt, than to make the ſciences flouriſh, rendered the means eaſy to them. He built the city of Berenicè (*s*) on the weſtern coaſt of the Red-ſea. But that harbour not having been found convenient as had been believed, they made uſe of that of Myos-Hormos, which was near it, and much better. It was there that all the mercantile goods were landed which they brought from the Indies, from Perſia, Arabia, and Ethiopia. From thence to Coptos, a town built upon the Nile a little above Thebes, and twelve days journey from Berenicè, he cauſed to be cut a great canal, by which they tranſported their effects, when they did not chuſe to make uſe of camels; and ordered a great number of inns to be built on the road, where travellers might find every thing that was neceſſary for them. From Coptos, the merchants carried their effects, by way of the Nile, to Alexandria, and from thence they were diſperſed over all the weſt; and from the exchange which was made there, they daily increaſed the cargoes which were deſigned for the Indies.

(*s*) Strabo, l. xvii. p. 815. Prid. ad an. 259. p. 16. Maſſey, hiſt. Jud. part I. l. i. c. 18.

Pliny

Pliny (*t*) gives an exact deſcription of the route held by the merchants who made that voyage. From Alexandria, they aſcended the Nile to Coptos; from thence they paſſed to Berenicè, and embarked at Myos-Hormos. Going out of the Red-Sea, they touched at Ocellis, a port of Arabia at the extremity of the gulph, or at Cana, a little farther eaſtward in the ſame country, or at the cape of Syagrus, now called Fartak. From thence, without ſtopping, they made ſail to Patulè, ſituated upon one of the mouths of the Indus; or for Muſiris, or Baracè, which was at no great diſtance; or for the iſland Taprobane, now Ceylon. The ſhips ſailed about the beginning of ſummer, and returned to Egypt before the winter ſolſtice in the ſame year.

This trade was one great object of the Roman ambition, and one engaging motive for them to take poſſeſſion of Egypt. After they had made themſelves maſters of it, they raiſed it to a much greater height than ever it had been before. Every year they carried thither above five millions worth of merchandize, and gained a hundred fold on what they brought back. That traffick was ſo much the more advantageous to them, that it did not drain the empire of it's ſpecie, and that they made great returns, by the ſale of thoſe rare and precious commodities which came from the Levant. It was then the cuſtom of the Indians, and chiefly of thoſe in

(*t*) Hiſt. nat. l. vi. c. 23.

Taprobane,

Taprobane, to make no uſe of money in trade (*w*). They had even little in the kingdom, ſince inſtead of ſilver they paid every year a thouſand talents of amber to the prince (*x*). The tribute of ſixty talents of gold which they paid to the Perſians, was raiſed moſt probably by the ſale of theſe mercantile goods which they received from them. The remote ſituation, and that maxim among the Indians never to go out of their own country, kept them in ignorance of the prices of thoſe things which were brought among them; and having ivory, purple, metals, precious ſtones, pearls, ſilks and ſpiceries amongſt them in great abundance, they bartered them for commodities very common in Europe, iron being the only thing which the Roman law prohibited being carried thither (*y*). This is the article whereof the companies eſtabliſhed within theſe two centuries make their chief profit.

The immenſe profits attending this trade, engaged ſeveral princes and rich private perſons to undertake it as well as the Romans. Mr. Huet (*z*) ſhews that it might, and frequently was carried on by the north through various channels; and that taking advantage of the Mediterranean, the Euxine, and Caſpian ſeas, and a great many navigable rivers which are found by the way, there remained an inconſiderable paſ-

(*w*) Pauſ. lib. iii. c. 12. p. 235.
(*x*) Cteſ. p. 670.
(*y*) Procop. de bello Perſico, l. i. c. 19.
(*z*) See his hiſtory of the trade and navigation of the ancients, from the 51ſt to the 56th chapter.

ſage by land. All the northern nations were obliged to follow that way, which was much more troubleſome than by the ocean, on account of a law which the Romans made, to ſuffer no foreigner to enter the Red-ſea. Tho' hiſtorians have neglected to inform us of the ſtate of that trade under the emperors, ſince the reign of Tiberius, it is however certain, that theſe princes continued it with great diligence *(a)*. From whence aroſe that multiplicity of duties and taxes on ſpices, drugs, ſtuffs, tinctures, animals, and other rarities, the greateſt part of which are now little known, as may be ſeen by a catalogue of them extant in the collection of the Roman laws (*b*).

But it was entirely abandoned after the fifth or the ſixth century, on account of the wars they were obliged to maintain againſt the barbarous nations, and the loſſes the empire had ſuffered by them; or through the neglect of the emperors. Silk among other things had become extremely dear in the weſt, when they learnt, as it were by accident, the method of rendering it plentiful, and of manufacturing it. About the year 550, ſome Indian monks having come to Conſtantinople (*c*), were informed that the emperor Juſtinian eagerly

(*a*) Vid. Pierre Gerberon. Treatiſe of navigation, c. 4. That work is publiſhed at the head of a new and curious collection of voyages to Aſia, from the 12th to the 15th century. Printed at the Hague, 1735.

(*b*) Digeſt. l. xxxix. t. 4.

(*c*) Proc. hiſt. arcanæ, c. 17.

wiſhed

wiſhed to have it in his dominions. They offered to procure it for him, and that prince engaged them to undertake it by great promiſes. They returned to the Indies, and brought from the country of Serind ſilk-worms, which they hatched, and fed with the leaves of the mulberry trees; they taught the manner of working the ſilk which the worms produced, and began to manufacture it in the empire. I have related at large in another work (*d*), how the Turks made an alliance with the Romans nine years afterwards by means of their trade in ſilk, which a good deal lowered it's price in the empire.

Till this period none had been made for Europe (*e*), but at Tyre, and Beritus, two cities in Phenicia; and it was ſtill ſo dear that the emperor Juſtinian was obliged to fix it's price at eight crowns of gold the pound *; a conſiderable ſum, which nevertheleſs occaſioned great diſturbance in trade, for the merchants pretended to loſe by it

CHAP. IX.

Revolutions of the Indies in the middle age.

THE commerce which the Romans, the Syrians, and Arabians eſtabliſhed to the Indies, from the time that Alexander had made

(*d*) Hiſt. Rom. under the name of Laurence Echard t. x. p. 22.
(*e*) L. c. cit. 25.
(*) About eighty livres.

them acquainted with theſe rich countries, produced no revolution in the government. Contented with the riches and the treaſures they drew from thence, they made no attempts to reduce either the people of the continent, or the adjacent iſlands; but traded with them as friends and faithful allies, whoſe peace and repoſe they had no intention to violate. Such difference is found between the ancients and the conquerors of latter ages. Theſe, having diſcovered the way by ſea to the Indies, have not contented themſelves with the trade which they might carry on as well as other nations; but imagined they had a right to declare open war againſt the Indians, to take poſſeſſion of their cities, their harbours, and their treaſures, and to render them their ſlaves. Hitherto they had enjoyed a happy liberty, which they had preſerved in an independence from all foreign dominion. Alexander himſelf was only ambitious of the title of their conqueror, without interrupting the regular ſucceſſion of their princes. He left them all upon the thrones of their anceſtors, and in the ſame ſtate of ſubjection to the more potent monarchs, as is to this day the cuſtom among them. Knowing their delicacy on that point, and afraid to render his conqueſts grievous, he renounced the title of king of the Indies, but conferred it on the generous Porus (*a*), as on him whoſe great ſoul

(*a*) Ælianus, l. v. c. 20. Plut. in Alex. & de ejus fortuna. Strabo l. xvi. Diod. l. xviii. p. 559. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 8. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 13.

deſerved

deſerved the command of all the nation; and ſubjected to his obedience a great many petty princes, whom the terror of the Macedonian name had brought from afar to the feet of that hero, or who had been ſubdued with little trouble.

The tributary princes, accuſtomed from the earlieſt times to that kind of dependence, bore it without murmuring; and their ſubjects, naturally tractable, peaceable, and innocent, were even ignorant of the name of rebellion. On the contrary their principal ſtudy was to pleaſe their prince. This is evident from the reſpectful manner in which they approached his perſon. It being the cuſtom among the Indian nations never to preſent themſelves before their prince with empty hands, the Indians commonly offered up to him flowers, or water diſtilled from them, as a ſymbol of their ſentiments towards him, and repeated on their knees, at the foot of the throne, this flattering elogium which had paſſed into a formula. "Be thou for ever happy (*b*), O prince worthy of our homage; brilliant ſtar, who borroweſt thy luſtre from no other; raviſhing beauty, who adorneſt the purple and the diadem; thou who art the ſource of our good fortune, and riſeſt like another ſun, to diffuſe light and joy in the hearts of thy ſubjects. Salutary and beneficent as that firſt of ſtars, thou giveſt to the earth that virtue and fertility which nouriſh men: thou enlighteneſt them in their ways, thou inſpireſt them with

(*b*) Pier. Valerianus. Hierogl. lv. p. 401.

wiſdom, thou leadeſt them to good. The God of heaven has depoſited in thy hands the enſigns of his power; thy hands ſuſtain in his name both the poles; it is by thee he moves the firmament, guides the ſtars in their courſe, and makes them reſplendent. It is from thy face they receive their brightneſs, becauſe thou art thyſelf the living image of celeſtial light. Nothing can be more precious to me, ſacred lord, than thy proſperity, thy friendſhip, thy goodneſs, and thy favour, becauſe they conſtitute the cauſe and the certainty of my felicity." After this preamble they declared the petition which they came to make. Sentiments full of ſuch profound reſpect, preſerved the throne from all hazard of rebellion, and were the moſt aſſured pledges of a ſolid and laſting peace.

Such a peace they had enjoyed in the Indies for the ſpace of fifteen centuries, reckoning from Alexander the great, when there aroſe in the north a prince as full of ambition as the Macedonian hero, and who carried deſolation almoſt thro' all Aſia. By theſe marks we cannot but call to mind the famous and formidable Zingiſcan, called by others Gengis, Gehinghis, Cingis, Gangius, or Guingiſkan. No hiſtory preſents us with ſo ſudden and ſurpriſing a revolution as that of the Tartars, of whom Zingis was, properly ſpeaking, the firſt kan, that is to ſay, king or monarch. In the ſpace of forty years, he and his ſons ſubdued China, the Indies, Perſia, Syria, and all thoſe vaſt countries which

which lie above the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, and extend to the frozen ſea, Ruſſia, Poland, and part of Germany. Our kings themſelves were ſeized with aſtoniſhment, admiration and terror. They ſeem to have dreaded that the conquerors of China might come to attack France, ſince they threatened the whole univerſe. Reſerving to another opportunity theſe memoirs which we have collected on this ſubject, we ſhall only relate as much of the conqueſts of the Tartars as is neceſſary to underſtand the hiſtory of the revolutions, and the religion of the Indies.

Amongſt the almoſt infinite multitude of people which inhabited the northern regions of Europe and Aſia, there was one extremely numerous, which poſſeſſed all the country lying to the north of China and the Indies, extending even to the Caſpian ſea. Theſe men, hitherto ignorant of other nations, became their ſcourge, after they began to make themſelves known by the wars of their famous Zingis Kan (*c*). He was born in the province of Dongouz, in the 1154th year of Jeſus Chriſt (*d*), the 549th of the Hegyra, and according to others (*e*), ten years later, in the month of the Hog according to the manner of reckoning among the Tartars. He was the ſon of Jeſſugi Bayadurkan, a Tartar

(*c*) Vid. Gerberon. hiſt. of the Tartars, and Petis de la Croix, hiſt. of Gingis Kan.

(*d*) D' Herb. Biblioth. Orient. the article Gingis.

(*e*) Abalgaſi Bayadur Kan. hiſt. geneal. of the Tartars, part iii. c. 1. This author I ſhall chiefly follow as the moſt credible.

prince, chief of thirty or forty thouſand families, who paid him the tenth of their flocks; this was the firſt and principal title of ſovereignty amongſt them. Some writers have derived his deſcent from a mean tradeſman (*f*), either to render him contemptible, or to give the greater degree of marvellous to their hiſtory. Zingis being but thirteen years of age at the death of his father, was abandoned by two thirds of the families who were accuſtomed to pay tribute to him. Theſe diſcontented with Jeſſugi Bayadur, took advantage of this circumſtance to revenge themſelves, and put themſelves under the protection of Burganay-Kariltak. Zingis, to whom nature had given an extraordinary ſhare of ſpirit and valour, did not appear diſconcerted by this deſertion. He made himſelf in good time beloved and eſteemed by his ſubjects: he inſpired them with that love of arms with which he himſelf was born; he policied them, he formed them inſenſibly to military exerciſes; and animated them with the hopes of rendering them one day maſters of the whole world.

Before he undertook this conqueſt, he thought proper to paſs ſome time at the court of the famous Preſter John, who muſt not be confounded with him of Abyſſinia. This was a Neſtorian prieſt of Syria (*g*), or of the country near Babylon, whom zeal, curioſity, or ambition had

(*f*) Vid. Heyton. hiſt. Orient. c. 16. And the obſervations of friar Bacon, p. 18.

(*g*) Marco Paulo, l. i. c. 51, &c. Friar Bacon, p. 18.

led

led into Tartary. His converſation and inſinuating manners gained him the eſteem and admiration of that unpoliſhed people. Many acknowledged him for their chief; and a number of families paid him thoſe honours which diſtinguiſh a ſovereign. Seduced by the charms of this fortune which preſented itſelf to him, he had the dexterity to accommodate his private intereſts to thoſe of the religion which he preached, and in a ſhort time he ſaw himſelf at the head of a powerful monarchy. This is what is called the kingdom of Preſter John. The Orientals call it Avenk, Ungh Chan; and Abulfarage, Malek Johanna, that is, king John.

Zingis having married (*b*) one of his daughters who was a chriſtian, to procure himſelf the aſſiſtance of an ally ſo powerful and ſo capable to help him in his projects, returned to his province with a deſign to put them in execution. The firſt arms which he had carried with ſucceſs in the ſervice of Preſter John, were a happy prelude of that multitude of victories which were afterwards to ennoble his name. He was entered into the thirty-eighth year of his age, when a man belonging to one of the tribes which had revolted from him (*i*), gave him information that ſome of them had a deſign to ſurpriſe him. Zingis, who had already conſiderably augmented his forces by bringing back to his allegiance many of

(*b*) D' Herbelot.
(*i*) Abulg. hiſtory of the Tartars, part iii. c. 2.

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the revolted families, ordered a general rendezvous of thoſe who had remained in their obedience to him. He aſſigned to every tribe the poſt they were to occupy; he gave battle to his enemies; and either killed or took them all priſoners. To ſtrike terror into thoſe who might ſtill incline to oppoſe him, he cauſed the heads of his principal priſoners to be plunged into cauldrons of boiling water. This inſtance of ſeverity intimidated the reſt of the rebellious tribes. They acknowledged the conqueror for Kan, in the year 1187, according to Marc Paul, whoſe calculation (*l*) differs from that of prince Abulgaſi.

Sovereign of a numerous people, Zingis thought himſelf entitled to demand in marriage the daughter of Unk-Chan, ſon and ſucceſſor of Preſter John. But the motive which he imagined ought to authoriſe him in that propoſal, was the cauſe of the refuſal he met with. The extent of his power and the rapidity of his conqueſts, raiſed the jealouſy of the chiefs of his nation. Unk Chan, dreading that this ſecond alliance might ſerve as a pretence to Zingis to deprive him of his crown, anſwered the envoy of that prince, that he would ſooner ſacrifice his daughter to Vulcan than give her to him in marriage. Zingis thought himſelf affronted. He declared war againſt the Neſtorian king; he

(*l*) Marc Paul had paſſed many years at the court of Coplai ſon of Zingis, and Abulgaſi was a Tartar prince who wrote the genealogical hiſtory of the princes of his nation.

defeated

defeated him at the head of his army; he took poſſeſſion of his kingdom, and was proclaimed general Kan of the Tartars, in the year 1202, and 599 of the Hegyra.

During this ceremony, one of his fathers-in-law declared to him that he came from God, to tell him that he ſhould call himſelf from henceforth *Zingis*, and that he ſhould order all his ſubjects to acknowledge him under that title. Hitherto he had been known by no other name than that of *Tamuzin*. But that of *Zingis* ſet him above all the other Tartar princes; *Zin* in the Mogul language ſignifying great, and the termination *gis* adding the ſuperlative, *very great*, or *the greateſt*.

Zingis thought himſelf obliged by new conqueſts to ſupport the high dignity he had attained. He entered with an armed force the peninſula of the Indies on this ſide the Ganges, which the Tartars call the kingdom of Tangut; and ever preceded by victory, advanced to the capital of the country. The prince (*m*) who then reigned as firſt monarch of the Indies, was of a very advanced age. He ſhut himſelf up in his palace, fortifying the place with every thing neceſſary for it's defence. Notwithſtanding all his care and vigilance, Zingis made himſelf maſter of it by a general aſſault, after a ſiege of a few weeks. He put the Indian prince to a cruel death for having defended his crown; he leveled the walls of the city; and made himſelf acknowledged ſovereign through all the king-

(*m*) Abulg. part iii. ch. 6.

doms;

doms; leaving governors behind him charged to keep the people in that obedience and ſubmiſſion to which he had reduced them.

From thence he carried his victorious arms into China. The people of that kingdom, as warlike as they were civilized, reſiſted him with incredible vigour. But Zingis, whom no obſtacles repulſed, and who could eaſily recruit his forces as often as he had occaſion, found his courage animated by the difficulties he met with at every ſtep. His perſeverance conducted him at laſt, after four years of victories and defeats, to the walls of Pekin, the capital of China, which he made himſelf maſter of as well as many other places, in the year 1210. Satisfied with this conqueſt he compleated the ſubjection of the northern provinces of that kingdom, and at his return took poſſeſſion of the Indies beyond the Ganges. Until his death, which happened in the year 1227, he never interrupted the courſe of his victories, having at the ſame time ſeveral armies on foot, which he commanded by himſelf or by his generals, who always anſwered his expectations. It was thus he united to his empire Bactriana, Sogdiana, and the country of Iran, that is to ſay, almoſt all Perſia; for it was not entirely ſubdued but by Taulai and Ugdai, two of his ſons and ſucceſſors.

Bending now under the weight of years, and the fatigues of a life always wandering and turbulent, he perceived his end approaching, and reſolved to prevent all conteſts which might happen after he was gone, about the diviſion of his eſtates.

eſtates. Altho' he had had many wives, all of them of illuſtrious extraction, he adopted none for his ſucceſſors but the children of his firſt wife, and theſe were Zuzi, Zagataï, Ugdaï and Taulaï, He earneſtly recommended to them not to ſuffer the kingdoms he had conquered to be raviſhed from them; but on the contrary to walk in his ſteps, and purſue his glory, to look upon the conqueſt of the whole world as the accompliſhment of the duty he impoſed on them, and never to lay down their arms but with their life. For this effect he conjured them to remain inviolably united with one another.

He declared for his ſucceſſor on the imperial throne (*n*) of Lamarcand, Ugdaï or Octaï, whoſe dominion extended over the Moguls country, and all others he had ſubdued as far as the northern part of China incluſive. Zagataï had the Tanſoxane, that is to ſay, the provinces beyond the Oxus, and the kingdom of the Uſbecs, which is properly Turqueſtan. The Choraſſan, which comprehended Bactriana and Sogdiana, was given to Taulaï, with Perſia and the Indies, great part of which he had conquered in perſon. His ſucceſſors Mangu, Coplaï, and Holagu have rendered themſelves famous in hiſtory. As Zuzi the eldeſt ſon of Zingis had died ſix months before his father, his ſons ſucceeded to his right. Batu, the eldeſt of them, was ſubſtituted to him, and had for his ſhare that vaſt extant of country lying above the Caſpian ſea. Here he found towards the weſt, a large field to increaſe his em-

(*n*) D'Herb. Bibliot. Orient.

pire,

pire, and he failed not to take advantage of it. It was he who over-ran Ruſſia, Moravia, Poland and Hungary, and was preparing to march againſt Conſtantinople, when death ſtopt the courſe of his victories and ambitious projects. Tochtamiſch, the ninth in order of his ſucceſſors, took from the Czar Demetrius Ivanowitz, the cities of Moſcow and Volodimer in 1382. This in a few words is the hiſtory of Zingis Chan, who may be compared with Alexander the great.

His deſcendants had enjoyed in a direct line for near two centuries the vaſt empire of the Tartars, when there aroſe, in the ſame nation, and originally of the ſame family, a new ſcourge of mankind, the famous Timur-Lenk, better known under the name of Tamerlane. Cabull, great grandfather of Zingis (*o*), was the common ſource from whence they deſcended; but courage and fortune was not equally conſpicuous in the two branches of that family. Although vaſſal of Adill (*p*), one of the deſcendants of Zagataï, Tamerlane was chief of the tribe of Burlaſs, and that title made him endure with greater reluctance his dependent ſtate. The diminution of Adill's power offered him an opportunity to throw off his yoke. For four ſucceſſive reigns, the throne had been daily tottering through the weakneſs of thoſe that ſat upon it. They retained only the ſhadow of authority; entire tribes had ſeparated themſelves with

(*o*) Abulg. hiſt. of the Tartars, p. 152.
(*p*) Idem, part v. c. 3.

impunity;

impunity; they ſet up Kans of their own, and thought themſelves at liberty to preſcribe to themſelves the boundaries of their obedience and ſubmiſſion. Tamerlane, too weak to form of his own ſubjects, a party ſtrong enough to attack the prince, joined Amir Huſſein, who had the ſame ſentiments with himſelf. After having united their forces they declared open war againſt Adill; his army was put to flight; the conquerors took him priſoner; bound him hand and foot, and threw him headlong into a river.

Tamerlane perpetrated this murder under colour of doing ſervice to the ſtate; and to make it believed that he had no intention to ſeize the crown, he ſet it upon the head of Cabull, a deſcendant of Zagataï. A ſhort time after it paſſed to Soiruc Tamiſch, and then to Mahomet his ſon. But he who diſpoſed in this manner of the ſceptre, reſerved the uſe and authority of it to himſelf. He took the advantage of the prince's name to make war againſt the other Kans, deſcendants of Zingis; he either ſubjected or dethroned them, and in the end made ſuch uſe of his victories, that he came to be regarded as the principal Kan of the Tartars. Amir Huſſein, enraged to ſee all the glory of the conqueſts in which he had a ſhare, transferred upon Tamerlane alone, inſtead of being his collegue, became his rival. His diſcontent diſplayed itſelf in a remarkable manner; the two chiefs of all the troubles were ſeen armed againſt one another; the plain of Bulch, in the kingdom which bears that name near Chorazan, was

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the field of battle where Huſſein loſt his life at the head of his troops.

His fall brought about the elevation of Tamerlane. All the emirs (*q*), the princes, the generals of Zagataï's army, the Kans of Termed and the prince of the Cherifs aſſembled at Balch or Samarcande, and choſe Tamerlane to fill the imperial ſeat of Zagataï. After the proclamation, he aſcended the throne, he put on the crown of gold, and girt himſelf with the imperial ſcarf. The grandees of the nation who aſſiſted at this ceremony, proſtrated themſelves at the feet of their new ſovereign, addreſſed to him vows for his proſperity, and poured upon his head, with liberal hands, gold and precious ſtones, according to a cuſtom which ſubſiſts to this day among the Tartars, not only at the coronation of their princes, but at the marriages of private perſons; they gave him the pompous titles of emperor of the age, and conqueror of the world, and henceforth the whole country ſubmitted to his dominion.

At this remarkable day the eaſtern hiſtorians fix the epocha of Tamerlane's reign (*r*), which falls on the year of Jeſus Chriſt 1379, of the Hegyra 781, and the thirty-fourth of that prince's age. After this elevation to the throne, he thought himſelf obliged to follow the example of Zingis his illuſtrious founder, and to

(*q*) Hiſtory of Timur-Bec. tranſlated from the Perſian, l. ii. c. 1. The author Chereſed in Ali is rather the panegyriſt than the hiſtorian of his hero.

(*r*) D' Herb. at the article Timur, and others.

recover

recover the provinces which had withdrawn themſelves from the dominion of the Tartars. He marched againſt the princes of Choraſſan, Segeſtan and Candaliar; he deprived them of their ſovereignties, and appointed governors in their places. Thus he opened himſelf a way to Perſia which he entirely ſubdued.

In the 800th year of the Hegyra, and 1398th of Jeſus Chriſt, he undertook the conqueſt of the Indies. He found upon the way ſeveral caſtles occupied by rebels or by robbers. He took poſſeſſion of theſe places, and purged the country of theſe uſurping tyrants, and of a great number of Guebers or idolaters, worſhippers of fire, who had taken refuge in Perſia on the confines of Indoſtan. Cachemire was the firſt town of which he took poſſeſſion, and which made but little reſiſtance. But he met with greater oppoſition before the capital of the country named Uldugin, which paſſed for an impregnable place. As his army was too numerous to employ it wholly in the ſiege, he ſent ſeveral detachments to the ſouthern provinces and towards Dehli, where the ſultan Mahmoud reigned. After having forced the town and citadel of Uldugin, he advanced againſt the ſultan, who had joined to his beſt troops thoſe of many other princes, all equally animated by the ſame cauſe. Tamerlane engaged them in a general battle, put them to flight, and purſued them hotly to the banks of the Ganges. That campaign rendered him maſter of all the country, which he divided among thoſe officers of his army who

had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt by their valour. The private ſoldiers he rewarded by dividing the booty amongſt them.

He had made his triumphant entry into Samarcand, the ſeat of his empire, when he learned that Ahmed had returned to Bagdad whence he had expelled him ſome years before. His great age did not hinder him from marching againſt the ſultan, who out of fear evacuated Meſopotamia. A ſhort time after Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, had the misfortune to become his enemy; and that expedition was more fatal to the haughty Ottoman, than the former had been to the ſultan of Bagdad. His defeat and ſubmiſſion permitted the conqueror to return to Samarcand, where he immediately made formidable preparations for the conqueſt of China. But he was ſtopped in the beginning of his career. He had only got the length of Otrar, when he found himſelf ſtruck by a diſtemper of which he died in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirty-ſixth from his coronation, the 807th of the Hegyra, and 1405th of Jeſus Chriſt.

At his death began the famous empire of the Moguls, the only one which has remained in his family, and whoſe ſucceſſion is known to us, amongſt the prodigious number of other kingdoms ſpread thro' the iſlands and continent of the Indies. It will not be improper to give a ſuccinct idea of it, drawn from the hiſtory of Father Catrou, which was extracted from the Memoirs of M. Manouchi, a Venetian, who reſided

reſided forty years at the mogul's court in quality of phyſician to the emperor.

The country called the Perſian Iraque, the Cabuleſtun, and the Indies (*s*), fell to 1405 the ſhare of Miracha, the third ſon of Tamerlane. That prince kept his court at Herat the capital of Koraſſun. Policy would not ſuffer him to do otherwiſe. His father had indeed got poſſeſſion of the beſt fortreſſes of Indoſtan; he had placed faithful governors in them; his garriſons prevented the people from raiſing commotions, and he levied conſiderable tributes on all the kings or governors of the country; but his authority ſubſiſted only in the Indies by the terror of his name. Miracha, who was not ſo much dreaded and reſpected on account of his valour, met with difficulty at firſt in reaping the fruits of the victories which Tamerlane had gained over the Indians. He ſhewed himſelf every year amongſt them at the head of a formidable army, to levy the tributes, and maintain an appearance of dominion and ſovereignty.

The king of Caſcar was the only one who refuſed to ſubmit; he took up arms againſt Miracha, and made him priſoner in battle. But uſing his victory generouſly, he reſtored him to liberty on condition the kingdom of Caſcar ſhould be exempted from all taxes. Miracha, who in ſeven different rencounters, had met with bad fortune in the wars he carried on againſt the king of Caſcar, was at laſt ſo lucky as to conquer him and take him priſoner in his

(*s*) Catrou, hiſtory of the Mogul. Bern. Thev. Tavern. and others.

turn. Proud of his triumph, the Tartar diſcovered a diſpoſition far from the humanity and generoſity of the Indian prince. So far from reſtoring to his priſoner that liberty which he had received from him before with ſo much greatneſs of ſoul, he threw him into irons and put out his eyes. This enormous ingratitude, was puniſhed by the ſame perſon on whom it had been exerciſed. The raïa, quite blind as he was, brought about the death of Miracha by a poiſoned arrow. This is a fact which has no example in hiſtory. The captive prince was ſo dexterous in ſhooting with the bow, that he could exactly hit the mark, provided he heard a noiſe from the place at which he was to aim. The recital of this dexterity appeared fabulous to the mogul; and he deſired to make an experiment of it. He placed himſelf within reach of the arrow, and raiſed his voice. The raïa immediately let fly on the quarter from whence the voice came, and pierced the body of Miracha, who had reigned 46 years.

Abouchaïd his ſon and ſucceſſor cauſed
1451 his ſubjects to revolt by the ſoftneſs and effeminacy of his life. They drove him out of the palace, and eſtabliſhed his brother in his ſtead. But inſtead of the ſerpent whom they had rejected, they placed a hydra on the throne. They ſoon regretted the loſs of Abouchaïd; they cauſed him to be ſought among the faquirs, or thoſe who made a voluntary vow of poverty, whoſe profeſſion he had embraced; ſtript him of his rags, and reſtored him to the purple.

The

The experience he had had of adverſity, made him uſe his good fortune with moderation. A conduct full of wiſdom and valour made amends for his paſt indolence, and the recent crime he had committed on the perſon of his brother, whoſe head he cauſed to be cut off in revenge of his tyranny and uſurpation. But if he appeared changed on account of the mildneſs of his government, he continued ſtill the ſame at bottom, and oftener than once his natural character appeared.

While he was buſied in the conqueſt of Samarcand and the neighbouring countries, they were endeavouring to deprive him of the city of Herat. Ibraïm Mirza, a young prince on whom nature ſeemed to have exhauſted all her favours, had touched the heart of one of the princeſſes of the mogul race, whom Abouchaïd had forced to celibacy in his ſeraglio. This princeſs, to whom the king's abſence had afforded a little more liberty than uſual, found means to get Ibraïm admiſſion there; ſhe gained the eunuchs to her ſide, and got him proclaimed king in Herat. The new ſultan ſoon put himſelf into a condition to preſerve by arms the crown he had received from the hands of love. He procured all the aſſiſtance poſſible; and waited for Abouchaïd on the road to Samarcand, in a plain which he had time to chuſe at his pleaſure, and appeared impatient at the delay of victory. His preſence ſurpriſed Abouchaïd, who had advanced a good way before the greateſt number of his troops. But he found himſelf too near to

retreat, and his rival, ſuperior in numbers, had already begun to ſurround the king's army, when the reſt of his forces arrived. Ibraïm, who only made war for the moſt ſenſible intereſts of the heart, begun the attack with fury, and fought with courage. Unhappily he was too young to hold out againſt the experience of Abouchaïd. At the firſt ſhock his tumultuous army was put to the rout, and he himſelf fled towards Damegan, leſs anxious for his own misfortune than the fate of the young princeſs who had procured him his crown. He had reaſon to be ſo. The news of this battle had no ſooner reached Herat and was carried into the ſeraglio, than every one began to be afraid for his life. The women and the eunuchs of the palace, who had been inſtrumental in the rebellion, thought proper to prevent the juſtice of the conqueror by the ſword or by poiſon. The princeſs who had been the principal cauſe of it, was not the laſt to put this horrid reſolve in execution. She had the fortitude to put her ſon, a child ſtill at the breaſt, to death, by thruſting into his throat a piece of gold which ſtopt the organs of reſpiration; this was the only fruit of her love with Ibraïm. She then ſwallowed the poiſon which ſhe had kept concealed for a long time under the ſtone of a ring, and expired a few moments after. It was thus the rebels ſaved the conqueror the hatred which putting them to death would have drawn upon him.

This happy event attended by many others, perſuaded Abouchaïd, that now he might attempt

tempt any thing. On pretence that Uſum-Caſſan, a Tartar prince deſcendant of Zingis, and who poſſeſſed part of the weſtern Perſia, had dethroned one of his neighbours, one of the ſucceſſors of Tamerlane, he declared war againſt him. Uſum-Caſſan, terrified to ſee the grandſon of Tamerlane treading in the ſteps of his grandfather, endeavoured in vain by ſubmiſſions to divert the tempeſt which threatened him. Reduced to the neceſſity of defending himſelf, he entrenched his little army amongſt lakes and inacceſſible mountains, from whence harraſſing the enemy without ceaſing, he cut off his proviſions, and deſtroyed by famine that formidable multitude of Tartars, Indians and Perſians, with whom it would have been raſhneſs to have hazarded an engagement. Abouchaïd was ſenſible, tho' too late, that it is often dangerous to refuſe peace to an enemy who makes advantageous offers to obtain it. The proud mogul, reduced to the neceſſity of making a retreat which had more the appearance of a flight, was taken by the ſons of Uſum-Caſſan, who conducted him to their father's tent. He kept up a good countenance before a conqueror, who had not dared to appear before him ſword in hand. He reproached him, and irritated by his contemptuous language the clemency of the ſultan, who had at firſt received him with humanity. Condemned to loſe his head, he underwent the puniſhment which his haughtineſs deſerved. The conqueror carrying his reſentment ſtill farther, cauſed a hot iron to be applied to

the eyes of Abouchaïd's three eldeſt ſons, who had likewiſe been taken in their flight.

Before he marched on this fatal expedi-
1469 tion, Abouchaïd divided among his children the kingdoms which he had inherited, and alſo thoſe which he had conquered. Samarcand and the ſouthern Tartary fell to the ſhare of Sec-Omor, the fifth amongſt them, who eſtabliſhed himſelf in the dominion of the Indies immediately after his father's death. This poſſeſſion was confirmed to him by the mildneſs with which he governed his ſubjects. His reign was that of peace, and his life a continual ſtudy of the alcoran. He died of a fall twenty-four years after his elevation to the throne.

The peace which he had procured to
1493 his ſubjects became fatal to Babar his ſon and ſucceſſor. Schaïbec-Kan perceiving they were enervated in the boſom of peace, took advantage of it to retake Samarcand, which Abouchaïd had raviſhed from his father rather by treachery than force of arms. His victory and the flight of Babar eſtabliſhed two of the greateſt monarchies in the world. The Ubeks the conqueror's countrymen took poſſeſſion of Samarcand, which has been ever ſince the capital of their empire; and Babar being obliged to fly, carried into the Indies the dominion of the moguls, which ſubſiſts there to this day. After having been purſued from place to place, Cabul was his laſt retreat. There he found his virtue return after the loſs of his kingdom. He had already gathered his ſcattered troops

troops with a deſign to recover it, when Ranguildas, governor of Cabul, made him change his intention, and inſpired him with the reſolution to fix himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the Indies, and extend his dominion in that quarter.

This being reſolved on, it is ſaid that both under the diſguiſe of faquirs traverſed the whole country to get acquainted with the courts, the cities, and the fortreſſes, the character of the inhabitants, and their manner of fighting. After having informed themſelves of every thing, they returned to Cabul, and made preparations to execute their project. Babar, at the head of a numerous army, ſent to ſummon Amwixa king of Dely, to quit the name and quality 1494 of ſovereign, in a country which had appertained to the Tartars ever ſince the conqueſt of Tamerlane. Amwixa made anſwer, that a king, tho' tributary, did not ceaſe to be a king; and that, ſince that title was diſputed, he alſo refuſed to an unknown perſon, expelled from his dominions, a tribute of which he was unworthy. Babar did not ſtop his progreſs for this haughty anſwer. He advanced towards Dely, and met in his march Amwixa, who came againſt him with forces whom their multitude rendered formidable. But they were not diſciplined. They were put into confuſion at the firſt attack. This diſorder diſconcerted them, they abandoned their king, who periſhed like a brave man, to take refuge out of the kingdom in the mountains of Thibet or Turqueſtan. Babar, now maſter of the country, tranſported his throne to Dely,

Dely, where the moguls his ſucceſſors have ſince kept their ordinary reſidence.

1500 He eſtabliſhed what laws he thought proper in the conquered country. The principal, which is reckoned the fundamental law of the ſtate, is that which adjudges in property to the ſovereign all the lands in the empire. They do not paſs among private perſons from father to ſon; but return to the prince after the death of him to whom the uſu-fruit had been given. Thus the people are, properly ſpeaking, nothing but farmers to the emperor. The officers of the court themſelves ſubſiſt only by the benefactions of their maſter; no perſon is rich in his own funds, no perſon is great but from the bounty of the prince.

The Tartars, ancient ſubjects of Babar, ran in great crowds to enrich themſelves under the new monarchy. It was then that the Indians gave indifferently to all the Tartars the name of Moguls, which was proper to the royal family only. A great number of Perſians came likewiſe to Dely to ſeek their fortune. The employments with which they were honoured at court drew thither many more. Thus the foreign Mahometans became in a ſhort time the moſt powerful; they poſſeſſed all the governments and the chief poſts of the empire. In ſhort, the raïas or governors, who were at firſt regarded out of neceſſity, fell inſenſibly into contempt, and the mahometan ſuperſtition became the eſtabliſhed religion of the country. Babar died in 1530, after having reigned five years

years at Samarcand, thirty at Dely, having paſſed three in the interval while he was dethroned. The law of deſcent by blood placed Amayum on the throne.

The hiſtory of the ſon reſembled in part that of the father. Chira, lord of Patana, of the race of thoſe whom Babar had conquered, like an able politician, made uſe of the credit and advantages which the great employments he filled at court, and in the mogul's armies, procured him, to revenge the injuries of his countrymen. When his project was on the point of execution, he changed his name from Chira, which ſignifies a young lion, to Chircha, ſignifying the royal lion, or lion lord. Amayum endeavoured to repreſs that pride, but it was too late. The meaſures of Chircha were taken, his party entirely formed, and his troops ready to enter into action. A bloody battle ruined Amayum. He eſcaped from the ſlaughter of his troops by the protection of a few brave Perſians, who defended him with their bodies, and eſcorted him into Perſia, where he took refuge. It was in the eleventh year of his reign, that the civil wars raged without intermiſſion. The ſophi or king of Perſia received him with all the generoſity which became a great prince towards a fugitive monarch. He gave him a palace and officers, he aſſigned him conſiderable revenues; he provided even for his pleaſures; he furniſhed his ſeraglio; and exhorted him to patience till time ſhould preſent a favourable opportunity to re-eſtabliſh him in his kingdom. 1530

Chircha

Chircha guarded againſt all the chances
1539 of ſuch an event by the wiſdom of his reign, which could not fail to procure him the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects. It is to him that the Indians are indebted for the eſtabliſhment of *caravanſeries*, or public inns, which he cauſed to be built at certain diſtances upon the great roads, for the convenience of merchants, who have there at a moderate price every thing that is neceſſary for themſelves and their camels. Death, which carried him off in the ninth year of his uſurpation, occaſioned grief to ſucceed the joy the people felt in the poſſeſſion of ſo excellent a monarch. As he had left no male iſſue behind him, all the neighbouring rajas aſpired to the ſucceſſion.

Amayum, well acquainted with theſe
1549 domeſtic troubles, perceived the time was now come, when he might re-enter into his dominions. He received from the ſophi ſome infantry, and about twelve thouſand cavalry; in hopes that his ſubjects would join his army as ſoon as he approached to their confines. All the paſſes were opened to him until he came to Lahor, of which he made himſelf maſter by a ſtratagem. A hundred young Perſians full of zeal for his cauſe, having diſguiſed themſelves like pilgrims returning from Mecca, towards the evening preſented themſelves before the gates of the citadel, praying they would give them ſhelter for that night. The governor thinking he was doing an act of religion, gave them admittance. As ſoon as they imagined

they had retired to reſt, they attacked the garriſon on a ſudden; they put the governor and his ſoldiers to the ſword without mercy; and delivered the fortreſs to Amayum, who entered into Lahor without reſiſtance. From thence he advanced by long marches towards Dely. One ſingle battle fought within three leagues of that place, overthrew all the reſources of his rivals, and confirmed to the ſucceſſors of Tamerlane the empire which they poſſeſs to this day. Amayum ſurvived his re-eſtabliſhment only two years nine months and fourteen days. He died in 1552, twenty-two years after having taken poſſeſſion of the kingdom for the firſt time.

Akebar his ſucceſſor inherited the virtue and courage of Tamerlane the moſt illuſtrious of his anceſtors. Having been born in Perſia the firſt year of his father Amayum's retreat, he could not be above thirteen years of age when he aſcended the throne. The care of his youth was entruſted to the principal men of the nation, who took care to confirm to him the poſſeſſion of the crown, by retaining in the Indies the Perſian troops, by the advantageous eſtabliſhments which they procured them. The young prince laid up in his memory the leſſons of wiſdom and policy which the miniſters of his minority had inculcated into him; and he put them in practice as ſoon as he came to age. His kingdom was more conſiderable on account of it's extent than it's riches. Theſe were chiefly found in the ſouthern part of the peninſula on this 1552

this ſide the Ganges, which Tamerlane had not ſubdued. Akebar undertook it's conqueſt, and accompliſhed it in ſpite of the reſiſtance made by the kings of Guzarate, Decan, and the Portugueze, who had eſtabliſhed themſelves powerfully in the Indies about ſeventy years before.

The princeſs Candè defended with no leſs bravery the town of Amanadagar, of which ſhe was ſovereign. Without being in the leaſt daunted ſhe beheld the mogul, already conqueror of many kingdoms, ſurround the capital of her ſtate; ſhe kept him above two months encamped without her ramparts. At laſt, obliged to yield to the obſtinate valour of the beſiegers, ſhe fell upon a ſtrange method of revenging herſelf on her enemy. She cauſed all the gold and ſilver in the country to be caſt in cannon bullets, on which ſhe engraved the heavieſt curſes againſt the uſurper; and then ſhot them into the camp of the Tartars. After this ſtroke of deſpair, ſhe ſurrendered upon articles, and ſeemed immediately to repent of her fury. At the ſight of the conqueror ſhe ceaſed to be his enemy. Akebar enrolled her in the number of his wives, he treated her always as a queen, or rather he conſidered her for a long time as the favourite ſultaneſs. There are to this day a great many of theſe cannon bullets found about Amanadagar. M. Manouchi ſaw one of gold weighing eight pounds, whoſe inſcription he read with a great deal of pleaſure.

The

The conqueſt of the two richeſt kingdoms of the country, eſtabliſhed the authority of Akebar throughout all the Indies. With that confidence which a great power inſpires, he abandoned the city of Dely, and formed a reſolution to build another more magnificent, either to immortalize his name, or to fulfil a vow which he had made to erect a moſque in honour of Mahomet, that he might obtain from heaven a ſon to inherit his empire. Agra, then very inconſiderable, appeared to him the propereſt place in which he could execute his project, and the work was carried on with ſuch rapidity, that in a ſhort time the inhabitants were reckoned to exceed 660000. Many hiſtorians relate, that during the repoſe of a long and glorious peace, Akebar heard the chriſtian miſſionaries, whom the Portugueze maintained in the Indies, that he invited ſome of them to his court; and that their diſcourſes on religion ſtaggered him not a little. A ſubtile poiſon which he took inadvertently carried him off all on a ſudden in the fifty-third year of his reign.

1605 Some years before Jehan-Guir, the eldeſt of his ſons, had attempted to deprive him both of his crown and his life. Altho' that crime deſerved the ſevereſt puniſhment, yet the tenderneſs of the father pardoned ſo unnatural a ſon. Akebar contented himſelf with ſhewing him that he was maſter of his deſtiny, in keeping him ſeveral days humbled in the obſcurity of a priſon, and in letting him ſee the heads of a hundred conſpirators whom he had ordered to be hanged on a tree. Jehan-

Guir

Guir was ſo ſtruck with this ſpectacle, that aſhamed of the fault he had committed, he earneſtly exerted himſelf to repair it, by an attachment full of zeal, and ſucceeded ſo well, according to ſome writers, that his father named him for his ſucceſſor a ſhort time before he expired. This declaration not having been made with the uſual formalities, Coſrou, ſon to Jehan-Guir, pretended that the ſceptre belonged to him inſtead of his father, by a promiſe which Akebar in his anger had frequently made to him in preſence of the whole court. Truſting to this title alone, he formed to himſelf a party of malecontents, whom the bad conduct of his father had already ſtirred up, and diſputed the crown with him at the head of an army of rebels. But they were diſperſed at the firſt engagement, and their chief was ſhut up in a caſtle with his wives and children. There he periſhed by the hands of his brother Chorrom, who hoped to aſſure to himſelf the throne by this baſe fratricide. The precautions which he had taken to bury his crime in that darkneſs, in which he had choſen to commit it, could not yet keep it concealed. The emperor diſcovered the author of the murder, and entertained nothing but indignation for him whom he had ſo tenderly loved; he baniſhed him to his government of Guzarate. His diſgrace only inflamed his ambition. He entirely employed himſelf in forming ſecret alliances with the neighbouring raïas, in gaining the great men of the country, and conciliating the affections of the people. Thus he met with little difficulty

difficulty in aſſembling a formidable army devoted to his ſervice. Having got intelligence that the emperor intended to tranſport to Lahor the treaſures of the empire, he marched at the head of ſixty thouſand men to intercept it on the road. But a contrary order being luckily given, fruſtrated his hopes, and diſcovered his revolt. He revenged himſelf on the city of Agra and the neighbourhood, which he pillaged.

Irritated with this audaciouſneſs, Jehan-Guir aſſembled all his forces, and marched in perſon againſt his ſon. Ardor and reſolution were equally diſplayed on both ſides. After an obſtinate engagement the rebels were put to flight near Dely, and the young prince retired into the inacceſſible mountains, from whence he endeavoured by means of negociation to appeaſe the anger of his father. During the battle ſultan Bolaqui his ſon ſignalized his zeal and fidelity in the intereſts of the emperor. Not contented with having contributed to the victory, at the head of a body of troops he penetrated into the heart of the kingdom of Guzarate, and laid ſiege to Amadabat, capital of the government, where Chorrom his father had eſtabliſhed a kind of ſovereignty. He broke open the gates by means of elephants, made himſelf maſter of the city, carried off his father's treaſures, broke to pieces his throne of gold, and diſtributed amongſt his officers the diamonds with which it was adorned. Jehan-Guir on the other hand was buſied in purſuing his rebellious ſon, who

had the hardineſs to treat with him as his equal. He ſent two of his generals to force him from his retreat, with orders to give him battle, and to bring him dead or alive. The fierce Chorrom was not diſcouraged. He gathered together the remains of his army, and made head againſt the emperor's party. The rebels had at firſt ſome advantage in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, but the confidence theſe inconſiderable advantages inſpired them with, occaſioned their loſing a great engagement. They were totally defeated in a general action.

Altho' there only remained about five thouſand men with Chorrom, he did not look upon himſelf as conquered. He retired beyond the Ganges, and entrenched himſelf behind the canal of Thonex, which is only a branch of that river in the neighbourhood of Patna. The emperor's generals purſued him in his retreat, and engaged him in one of the bloodieſt battles mentioned in the hiſtory of the modern Indies; and tho' their loſs was much greater than that of the rebels, yet they carried off all the honours of a triumph.

Chorrom, tho' he had only three thouſand men left him, imagined he ſhould recover all his loſſes by the intrigues of Nur-Jahan, firſt wife of Jehan-Guir, whoſe niece he had married. The ſultaneſs conſidering that that war, carried on with ſo much animoſity, was repugnant to the intereſts of her family, found means to bring about the diſgrace of Chorrom's greateſt enemy Mahobet Cham, the emperor's general in chief.

Enraged

Enraged to ſee his zeal, his ſervices, and his blood repaid with ſuch black ingratitude, that brave officer reſolved upon revenge. He aſſembled ſeveral of the old captains, who for a long time had ſerved under him; five thouſand Rageputes, the moſt intrepid of the Indians, embraced the party of a chief whom victory had always attended. With this ſmall body, he formed the deſign of carrying off the emperor, who was going with his court from Agra to Cabul. That project ſucceeded according to his wiſhes, and if he did not draw all the advantages from it he might have done, it was only thro' an exceſs of generoſity and reſpect for his maſter. He took advantage of the moment when the prince's eſcort had paſſed the river Tzianub before ſun-riſing; and ſurrounded on a ſudden the camp of Jehan-Guir, who was yet aſleep in his tent; he diſperſed with eaſe the ſoldiers of his guard; and with ſcarce any bloodſhed, the emperor, the ſultaneſs, Bolaqui, and the principal men of the empire, fell into his hands.

The firſt news of that ſeizure threw every thing into confuſion; people were at a loſs which of the three parties to join. Agra declared for the new conqueror, and delivered the citadel to one of his friends. Had Mahobet inclined to make a bad uſe of his victory, he might have made emperor whom he pleaſed, and choſen any of the ſons or grandſons of the mogul, who might have raiſed him to the higheſt dignities of the ſtate in gratitude. The inviolable vene-

ration which he preſerved for his maſter, made him uſe him with moderation. He contented himſelf with giving him an eſcort to conduct him to Cabul, with accompanying him in perſon, and making his court aſſiduouſly to him. This moderation was likely to be more fatal to him than his firſt diſgrace. The ſultaneſs, enraged to ſee herſelf in the power of her enemy, was afraid that to compleat her misfortune he might get poſſeſſion of the prince's affections by his inſinuating manners. She acquainted the imperial army, that thoſe who had carried off Jehan-Guir were only five thouſand men; ſhe engaged the chiefs of her party to deliver her from confinement; ſhe informed them of the proper time and manner. Her wiſhes were happily accompliſhed. Above fifty thouſand men, gathered together from all the neighbouring provinces, placed themſelves in ambuſcade on the banks of a river which the emperor was to paſs in his way to Cabul. Mahobet, informed of the ſnare that was laid for him, thought fit to abandon his priſoners and return back. The dread of the ſultaneſs's reſentment obliged him to demand an aſylum from Rana, one of the principal raïas in the empire. Far from abuſing it by new enterpriſes, he employed himſelf in promoting the public repoſe and tranquillity, and in reconciling by his negociations the emperor and his ſon the ſultan Chorrom. This was the noble revenge he took of a ſovereign who perſecuted him. Jehan-Guir thought of nothing henceforth but enjoying the ſweets of peace.

peace. He paſſed in it the reſt of his old age, and died at Dimber in the year 1627, after a reign of twenty-two years, which had been perpetually diſturbed by civil wars.

His death divided the empire into three factions. The empreſs declared for Scheriar her daughter's huſband. Bolaqui had on his ſide the imperial army, and the guard of the palace. The two miniſters Aſaph-Cham, and Mahobet-Cham, favoured openly the ſultan Chorrom. The ſultaneſs had only credit to get Scheriar acknowledged for emperor within the precincts of the ſeraglio. But that party, which conſiſted only of women and eunuchs, became in a ſhort time the weakeſt. Bolaqui, being proclamed by the troops, ſeized the empreſs and her ſon-in-law; he threw one into cloſe priſon, and made the other loſe his eyes by the application of a hot iron. That prince, imagining he was only working for himſelf, opened the way to the throne by his cruelties for the ſultan Chorrom his uncle. An intrigue carried on by Mahobet and Aſaph put him in poſſeſſion of the crown, without any bloodſhed. The hiſtory deſerves to be related. It lets us ſee, that in a country which we imagine to be inhabited only by a rude and barbarous people, there is as much policy and craft to be found amongſt them, as among the moſt accompliſhed ſtateſmen in Europe. 1627

As ſoon as Bolaqui was ſeated on the throne of his grandfather, he ſent one of the principal omrhas or lords of his court to his uncle Chor-

rom. The envoy had orders to demand from the ſultan the ordinary tribute, to engage him to acknowledge the ſovereignty of Bolaqui, and even to threaten him if he found in the prince the leaſt inclination to revolt. The news of his arrival rendered his inſtructions uſeleſs. He found the ſultan vomiting blood in great quantities. Such a ſpectacle ſoften'd him; he diſpatched a courier to Bolaqui, to inform him of the ſituation to which his uncle was reduced. But Chorrom's diſtemper was only a feint. That which he vomited was the blood of a kid, with which he had filled his mouth a moment before the omrha's entrance. The report of his ſickneſs was followed by another equally falſe. It was every where publiſhed that Chorrom was dead, and in effect he diſappeared.

Mahobet, and ſome other officers the moſt attached to the prince, were alone entruſted with the ſecret of this intrigue. They appeared inconſolable, and gave the greateſt demonſtrations of the ſincereſt grief. The envoy was deceived as well as others; he made haſte to go and inform his maſter, and they pray'd him to aſk permiſſion to have the ſultan's body carried to the ſepulchre of his fathers. Bolaqui granted with joy all the honours of burial to a prince of his blood, whoſe death, as he believed, had delivered him ſo opportunely. They prepared the convoy with all poſſible magnificence. The empty coffin was conducted by above a thouſand men choſen from among the principal officers of the dead; Mahobet was at their head, and Chorrom followed

lowed his own funeral in diſguiſe. Squadrons of the Rageputes were diſpoſed at proper diſtances, who increaſed the funeral pomp by way of honouring it, and followed it to Agra. On the other hand the miniſter Aſaph, being made acquainted with the ſecret, perſuaded the young emperor that it was his duty as well as a piece of decency to go and meet the convoy, and conduct to his tomb a prince from whom he had now nothing more to fear. The artifice ſucceeded. Bolaqui, very ſlenderly attended, went out at the gates of Agra, in the habit of mourning, and with the equipage of a prince who was going to pay the laſt duties to a relation. Affrighted to ſee ſuch a numerous retinue following a corps, he immediately underſtood they had a deſign againſt his crown and his life. He fled, and took refuge in Perſia, that he might ſhun the cruelty of an ambitious rival.

Chorrom, maſter of the citadel and palace of Agra, took the name of Cha-Jaham, which ſignifies, king of the world. The firſt act of his authority was to make himſelf ſure of Scheriar. He kept him confined during three months with his two ſons; but fearing he might eſcape him notwithſtanding his vigilance, he cauſed the gates of their priſon to be walled up, and left them all three to periſh of famine. It is aſſerted that this place has not been yet opened. The war, which ſome years afterwards he carried on againſt the Portugueze, gave occaſion to other barbarities which he exerciſed on the conquered, chiefly out of his hatred to chriſtianity. He had

four ſons, whom he ſent to different kingdoms of the empire, in the quality of viceroys. Cha-Chuïa had the principality of Bengal; that of Decan fell to the ſhare of Aurengezebe; and the kingdom of Guzarate to Moradbax. Dara, the eldeſt of all, ſtaid at court. While the emperor gave himſelf up to all manner of amuſements and pleaſures, Dara ſeized upon the government and authority; he alone acted as emperor, and only wanted the title and the diadem. Whoever did not cringe before him, aſſaſſination or poiſon were immediately his lot.

Theſe cruelties, together with his imperious manners, could not fail to procure him univerſal hatred, and to deprive him of that ſceptre to which he aſpired. He had beſides, in the perſon of Aurengezebe, a rival ſo much the more dangerous, the leſs he ſeemed to be feared. The conduct of this laſt, full of moderation and equity, became a ſhameful contraſt to that of Dara; and he affected ſo much mildneſs chiefly with that deſign. As ſoon as years had rendered him ſuſceptible of ambition, he carried his views to the throne, and formed the plan which he judged moſt proper for that purpoſe. Nature had furniſhed him with all the qualities neceſſary to one formed to deceive. He was of an advantageous ſtature, and his countenance naturally mild. His meagre habit gave him an air of mortification, which he knew how to accompany with diſcourſes of religion. He was always obſerved to be pale, of a livid countenance, and his eyes ſunk in his head. He ſeemed full of melancho-

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ly and taciturnity, ſpeaking of nothing but zeal for Mahomet's religion, and obſervation of the law. He carried the alcoran almoſt always under his arm; he prayed often; and every day he repeated a certain roll of praiſes to God with an attention calculated to attract reſpect. It was ſaid that he had been received amongſt the faquirs; and he himſelf gave out, that as ſoon as he could get rid of the cares of this world, he would devote himſelf to a life of penitence at the tomb of Mahomet. Theſe diſcourſes of retiring were the effect of his ambitious ſchemes. Thus he prepared himſelf an aſylum, if he ſhould not be able to break thro' the barriers that ſtopt his progreſs to the throne. The great devotion to which he pretended, did not prevent his application to warlike exerciſes. But he took care to give a colour of piety and religious zeal to all his projects. It was under this pretext that he endeavoured to deprive the king of Golconda of his dominions, becauſe he was attached to the ſect of the Perſees or Perſans. If that enterprize did not entirely ſucceed, he at leaſt drew great advantages from it.

Fortune reſerved her entire favours to him on a more important occaſion. A dangerous diſtemper with which the emperor Cha-Jaham had been attacked, gave occaſion to reports of his death, which ſpread over all Indoſtan. Cha-Chuïa, the moſt active of his three ſons whom he had appointed viceroys, took the field firſt with forty thouſand cavalry, with a reſolution to raviſh the ſceptre from Dara his eldeſt brother.

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The emperor, informed of ſo remarkable a ſtep, wrote to him that his diſtemper was abated; that he might return to his government of Bengal; and repair by a due obedience the precipitate meaſures into which his raſhneſs had hurried him. The prince took no notice of the orders he received from his father; he continued his march to Dely, and was ſtopt on the road by the imperial army under the conduct of Dara's eldeſt ſon. The bad ſucceſs of a battle diſcouraged him entirely, and he retired immediately after.

The ſame pretence which occaſioned his taking up arms, ſerved equally to determine his two brothers Aurengezebe and Moradbax. Altho' the firſt had made all his preparations, he did not intend to appear before his brother had put himſelf on his march. Taking now advantage of the ſeditious motions which both the one and the other had made, he wrote to Moradbax in terms full of diſſimulation, and to this purpoſe: "You are not ignorant of the reſolution I have laid down to paſs the remainder of my days in retirement and devotion. The grandeur of this world has nothing capable of touching my heart. My only paſſion is to eſtabliſh the worſhip of the true God, and the law of his prophet, in all their purity. I am ſenſible that of all the ſons of Cha-Jaham, whoſe death is too certain, you are the only one who preſerve a reſpect for the alcoran. Dara is an impious perſon, attached to the religions of Europe. Cha-Chuïa is a heretic, addicted to the ſect of Ali, and has connections with the ſchiſmatics of Perſia. If it

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pleaſe God and his prophet, I will never ſuffer impiety and hereſy to poſſeſs the throne. You alone, my dear brother, whom I honour as my lord, and ſalute as my maſter, deſerve to wear the crown. You are a true muſulman, and the ſole defender of the faithful. Permit me then to join my troops to yours, and with you to defend the juſteſt ſide in fighting for religion. I only aſk of you, as a reward of all my ſervices, that you will permit me after the victory to paſs in peace the remainder of my days near the tomb of Mahomet in penitence and in prayer."

This artful letter was joyfully received by Moradbax. He anſwered it by another full of politeneſs, which proceeded from a ſincerer heart. However, when he conſented to join his forces with thoſe of his brother, he did not imagine that the army of Aurengezebe could be ſuperior to his own. He formed his notions of it from the narrow bounds of the kingdom of Decan, and the inconſiderableneſs of it's revenues. But he did not know that Aurengezebe had been for a long time preparing for this expedition; that his frugality ſtood him in ſtead of great riches; and that he had engaged Mirza-Mula, the emperor's general in Viſapour, to furniſh him with the troops which he commanded. The two princes agreed to have an interview in the mountains of Mauddo. As ſoon as Aurengezebe perceived his brother, he alighted from his elephant, he ran to meet him, he proſtrated himſelf before him, and ſaluted him as his ſovereign. He made him take the title of emperor,

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he treated him in public and private as ſuch; every where he gave him the preference; and in the command of the armies, he always received the orders from his brother, whom he could manage as he pleaſed by the force of perſuaſion. The troops advanced towards Dely by long marches.

At the noiſe of their approach, Dara was alarmed both for his own ſafety and that of the emperor. He wrote to them, that their father was not dead, and that it was unjuſt in them to diſturb him in his old age. Moradbax, who had great rectitude of heart, was ſtaggered when he found himſelf ſo near the commiſſion of a crime. He heſitated about proceeding farther, when he knew that Cha-Jaham was yet alive, and that it was falſe that Dara had cauſed him to be poiſon'd. Aurengezebe perceived his uneaſineſs, he removed his ſcruples, and confirmed his reſolutions by letters which his emiſſaries ſent him from Dely on purpoſe. As they made daily advances, the emperor propoſed in council to take the field himſelf, to appear at the head of his troops, and diſarm his ſons by his preſence. A ſecret friend of Aurengezebe oppoſed this ſtrongly, by remonſtrating on the precarious health of the prince, and the bad conſequences which might attend the loſs of a battle, which is not always decided by valour. Cha-Jaham determined to ſtay in his palace, and Dara imagined that he ought not to quit it.

On the banks of the river Ugen, there was a riſing ground in the form of an amphitheatre, where

where the imperial army encamped with deſign to diſpute the paſſage with the confederate troops. They left Agra about the end of April, in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the Indies. Aurengezebe, who conducted the advance guard of the rebels, appeared firſt in ſight of the enemy. But as the reſt of his army was not yet arrived, all his care was to prevent the imperialiſts paſſing the river, which was low and fordable in ſeveral places. He diſpoſed his artillery with great expedition, and made a terrible fire upon the enemy who were poſted on the oppoſite bank. In the mean time Moradbax came up with the rear-guard. His natural impetuoſity and courage allowed him no long time to deliberate. He threw himſelf into the water with an intrepidity which gave courage to his followers, and paſſed the river at their head, while Aurengezebe's cannon ſupported them. Of the emperor's two generals, one had intelligence with the rebels, and diſpoſed his wing in ſuch a manner that they were put to flight at the firſt aſſault. The other ſignalized both his zeal and his courage; but overpowered by the fire and number of his enemies, was obliged to retreat, accompanied only by five hundred cavalry. Shame and chagrin determined him to retire to his country eſtate, and appear no more at court.

Every thing was in the utmoſt confuſion there, when the news of that unfortunate event arrived. The deſertion of the generals, the loſs of the greateſt part of the army, the artillery, and the booty, all which gave new advantages to Aurengezebe,

rengezebe, the malecontents who went over in crowds to the confederates, all theſe misfortunes were ſufficient to damp the courage of Cha-Jaham, and in effect he ſunk under them. At the ſuggeſtion without doubt of a friend of Aurengezebe, he reſigned all his authority to Dara; he ordered that no other ſhould be acknowledged as ſovereign, at leaſt for a time.
1656 That fatal ſtep occaſioned the father's ruin, and deprived the ſon of the ſceptre. Many of the grandees, whom duty as yet attached to Cha-Jaham, refuſed to obey Dara; and the people, diſcharged of the ſubmiſſion they had ſworn to the old emperor, ſhewed abundance of indifference for the new one.

Notwithſtanding the almoſt univerſal infidelity of the great, and lukewarmneſs of the people, Dara failed not to aſſemble an army of a hundred thouſand horſe and fifty thouſand infantry. An hundred pieces of cannon were taken out of the arſenals of Agra, the leaſt of which were twelve pounders; all the officers who ſerved in the artillery were Europeans. Sixty elephants loaded with towers were provided, every one of which carried a field piece, and the prince's baggage followed upon five hundred camels. To have ſeen that prodigious multitude extend themſelves out of ſight, and cover the vaſt plains in the neighbourhood of Agra, one ſhould have imagined that the prince muſt have forced victory to declare in his favour. The moſt judicious were of another opinion, and Dara was almoſt the only perſon who entertained no doubts of his

his misfortune. But the time was now come when the great men of the empire were to take their revenge for the diſhonour which Cha-Jaham had done them in debauching their wives, and the bitter railleries they had ſuffered from the prince. It was eaſy to perceive the hatred which the principal men of that great body entertained againſt their chief.

After a march of four days, he arrived upon the banks of the river Chambal, where he judged it moſt convenient to wait for the enemy. Aurengezebe perceived it would be raſh to attempt a paſſage in the face of ſuch a numerous army. He had recourſe to the ſtratagem Alexander made uſe of againſt Porus; in the night time he paſſed the river ſome leagues higher. The news of this threw Dara's camp into confuſion; and as bad fortune would have it, he placed at the head of theſe troops who were to repulſe the enemy, Calil-Kan, a ſecret friend of Aurengezebe. The traytor acting in concert with the rebels, gave them time to poſt themſelves to advantage, under pretext that they would periſh with famine, in a place where no proviſions were to be had. The ardor of Dara would ſuffer no longer delays, he reſolved abſolutely to begin the engagement. Calil, who had got the command in chief, had gained the captain of the cannoneers, and forbid him to obey any orders but what he received from himſelf. Before they were within cannon ſhot, he ordered a general diſcharge of all the artillery, of which not one ſhot reached the enemy. The

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ſmoke and the duſt prevented Dara from perceiving the general's treaſon. Soon after for the firſt time three guns were heard in Aurengezebe's camp. This was the ſignal agreed on with Calil, to let him know that his troops were ready. The traytor then ran to Dara who commanded the main body. "It is time, my lord, ſaid he, to go and vanquiſh an enemy, almoſt put to the rout already by your artillery. The enemies have none; as yet they have only anſwered you by three ſhots of uſeleſs cannon. Make only your appearance, and victory follows."

Animated by this inſidious diſcourſe, Dara ſet the three bodies of his army all in motion at once; his own was the moſt expeditious. His troops, thinking they were marching to certain victory, ſent forth frightful ſhouts as they approached the enemy. Aurengezebe heard them without being daunted; he received at the ſame time thoſe ſhowers of arrows with which the air was darkened; then he cauſed his cannon, his muſketry, and his archers, to diſcharge ſo opportunely, that a prodigious number of the dead and dying were ſeen falling around Dara. But there was ſtill a ſufficient number left him to continue the battle with hopes of victory. He advanced amongſt the midſt of Aurengezebe's ſquadrons; he penetrated to the batteries by which he had been moſt incommoded; he put the Portugueze cannoneers to flight; and then made an attack upon that body with which Aurengezebe was ſurrounded.

Moradbax was puſhed with no leſs vigour by Ramſing,

Ramſing, the emperor's ſecond general. That raïa followed by his rageputes had pierced the line commanded by the Mogul prince, and had come ſo near him as to engage him hand to hand. The prince was mounted upon an elephant of war, on a kind of open throne, from whence he gave orders on all ſides. He had been wounded ſlightly on the face with three arrows. The raïa, whoſe quiver was empty, leapt from his horſe that he might plunge his launce in the belly of the prince's elephant. While he advanced too raſhly, Moradbax pierced him with his dart and laid him in the duſt. The rageputes diſcouraged at this took to flight, which occaſioned the loſs of the battle.

The courage of Dara was not daunted at this misfortune; he had ſtill a ſufficient number of troops to obtain the victory. He had already diſperſed the wing commanded by Mahamud ſon to Aurengezebe. When he ſaw Moradbax come up to the aſſiſtance of his brother, he attached himſelf principally to him, and charged him with ſo much fury, that he put him to flight. Aurengezebe left alone, defended himſelf with difficulty, when the perfidious Calil-Kan compleated his treaſon by a pernicious counſel, which ruined the hopes of Dara, and rendered uſeleſs all the fruits of his valour. "You are victorious, my lord, ſaid he, humbling himſelf before him, and your firſt campaign eclipſes the glory of all the moguls. To finiſh the work you have begun, nothing remains but to purſue the flying brothers, and to make

them the ornament of your triumph. Alight from the elephant which carries you. You are too much expoſed to the arrows to maintain any longer without danger ſo hot an engagement. Let us get on horſeback and fly after the enemy."

The ardour which tranſported Dara prevented him from reflecting on the conſequences of this counſel. Mounted on one of thoſe Perſian horſes ſo famous for their ſurpriſing ſwiftneſs, he darted forth and pierced into the midſt of the enemy. His ſoldiers, ſurpriſed at ſeeing him no longer on his elephant, believed him dead, and immediately loſt all their courage. They ſeparated and fled with a celerity which aſtoniſhed the general, and made him perceive, tho' too late, the treaſon of Calil-Kan. The traytor had already taken his meaſures. Followed by a ſquadron devoted to his intereſt, he had paſſed over to Aurengezebe. The unfortunate Dara ſeeing one of his generals killed, the other turned to the enemy, his two brothers become the ſtrongeſt by the deſertion of his troops, and the greateſt part of his army put to flight, thought of nothing but a retreat. He performed it in the beſt order that could be expected from his little experience in the art of war. The battle ended on his ſide after having laſted ten hours, but the war was not yet terminated.

The conquerors advanced to the gates of Agra, and laid ſiege to the citadel. Dara having retired to Lahor to gather together the remains of his army, and to levy new troops, the emperor took upon himſelf the charge of defending

ing that place. The artful Aurengezebe ſent to aſſure him by an eunuch, that they had no deſign againſt his perſon, that they preſerved for him the ſincereſt ſentiments of tenderneſs, reſpect and obedience; and that they were only irritated againſt a brother who reigned like a tyrant. The emperor anſwered, that he was ready to pardon his rebellious ſons, provided they came and implored his clemency in perſon. Nothing was farther from their intention. They were reſolved to ſeize the throne, whatever crime it might coſt them. Aurengezebe took upon himſelf the execution of their project.

Pretending to be detained about two miles from Agra by ſickneſs, he beſought the emperor to allow his ſon Mahamud to go in his name and make the ſubmiſſion which he demanded; adding, that when health permited him, he would come and throw himſelf at his feet. Cha-Jaham conſented to it, and prepared for the young ſultan preſents of an ineſtimable value. This was a bait to draw Aurengezebe into a ſnare. Mahamud entered the citadel into which the emperor had retired. He gained the ſoldiers of the firſt body of the guards; followed by a great number he entered the palace, and penetrated to the emperor's apartment. They put to the ſword without diſtinction all whom they found in their way, ſoldiers, women, ſlaves and eunuchs. Mahamud being come to Cha-Jaham pronounced his fate in the following words. "Your great age, ſaid he, prevents you from reigning. Finiſh the reſt of your days in tranquillity, and

ſhut yourſelf up with your women in theſe delicious gardens, which you have adorned at ſo much expence. We do not envy you the light of day; but yield to your children a place which you diſhonour." At theſe words there aroſe a great cry among the Tartar women who ſerved the prince in his apartment, and are bred to the exerciſe of arms as well as the men. But their menaces were in vain. They were obliged to yield to force, and retire to the apartment of the gardens without the citadel.

From that moment, the two princes diſpoſed of all the public offices; all orders proceeded from them, and they ſhared between them the treaſures of Cha-Jaham and the revenues of the empire. After they had ſpent ſome days in ſettling the government, the army began it's march in purſuit of Dara, who was making preparations for war in the neighbourhood of Dely. When they arrived before the famous temple or pagod of Matura, Aurengezebe took occaſion to ſay, that there could not be a more convenient place for the coronation of Moradbax, to whom in appearance he had always yielded his pretenſions. The day for the ceremony was fixed on the 15th of June 1656. The careſſes and deference which Aurengezebe paid his brother never ſeemed more ſincere. He took upon himſelf the trouble of adorning the plain with all imaginable magnificence. While they were buſied in preparing the tents, the preſents, the dreſſes, the horſes and the elephants, the chiefs and ſoldiers of Moradbax gave themſelves up to pleaſure,

ſure, nothing was heard in the prince's tent but concerts and comedies; their whole employment was dancing and feaſting. Notwithſtanding Mahomet's law, wine was not ſpared; they drunk even to exceſs. But with Aurengezebe every thing was kept on the reſerve. Warlike diſcipline was exactly obſerved; and prayers were ſaid at morning, mid-day, and evening, as punctually as in the cities. Councils were frequently held. The principal officers, acquainted with their maſter's deſigns, talk'd of nothing to the ſoldiers, but the happineſs of having ſo virtuous a prince as Aurengezebe for their ſovereign.

On the eve of the coronation he pretended to be indiſpoſed, and prayed Moradbax to come to his tent and conſult the aſtrologers together, that they might know if the day would prove fortunate. Moradbax came, accompanied only by a few officers of his court. Aurengezebe received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of tenderneſs and reſpect. He ſeated him in the place of honour, he himſelf chaced away the flies which incommoded him, and wiped the ſweat from his face with a linen cloth; he called him nothing but his maſter, his lord, and his ſovereign; he cauſed a perfumed bath to be prepared for him, and then ſerved up a magnificent repaſt. The two brothers eat alone, while the officers of Moradbax were entertained by Aurengezebe's generals in tents that lay at a diſtance. Cha-Abas the eunuch ſtaid alone with his maſter. The feaſt was enlivened with muſic and dances. Aurengezebe, who never quitted the air of devotion,

drank nothing but water. Moradbax, leſs ſcrupulous, took wine to exceſs. A profound ſleep was the effect of his drunkenneſs. Cha-Abas conducted the prince to a neighbouring tent that he might repoſe himſelf, and ſat down at the foot of the bed. A ſhort time after, Aurengezebe cauſed the prince's ſabre and poinard to be taken away. Immediately ſix ſoldiers entered, ſeized on Moradbax and the eunuch, loaded them with chains, and ſtopt their mouths that they might not make a noiſe. Aurengezebe, who covered all his practices with the veil of piety, cried out, lifting up his hands to heaven: Let vengeance be taken for this intemperate prince's contempt of Mahomet's law; and let the man who has rendered himſelf unworthy of the throne by his impiety, be ſecured. The two captives were put each in a cloſe litter, and carried under a ſtrong guard, the one to Agra, and the other to Dely.

This blow was ſtruck with ſo much ſecrecy, that they had no ſuſpicion of it either in Moradbax's camp, or the tents where his officers were entertained. Aurengezebe had the precaution to cauſe the muſic to play all night, as if the two brothers had been ſtill at the entertainment. At break of day the two armies aſſembled in that vaſt ſpace of ground which had been decorated for the ceremony of the coronation. The order was, that they ſhould come without arms to prevent the quarrels that might ariſe. While they expected every moment that Moradbax ſhould appear and be proclaimed, ſome perſons

perſons poſted at different places, cried out at the ſame time; *Long live the emperor Aurengezebe.* The greateſt number were aſtoniſhed at this at firſt: but inſenſibly the cry increaſed, and both parties repeated, as if by concert; *Long live the emperor Aurengezebe.* The prince immediately appeared upon the alcove which had been prepared for his brother; he ſeated himſelf for a moment on the throne, and then retired. Nothing can be a greater proof of the levity and inconſtancy of the Indians than the whole courſe of this hiſtory.

Aurengezebe threw off the maſk of hypocriſy as ſoon as he found it time to aſcend the throne. That artful faquir, who a little before gave out that he aſpired no higher than to end his days in the exerciſe of a devout life, without any ſcruple ſacrificed to his ambition by the blackeſt perfidies, the liberty of a weak father and a too credulous brother. While he kept them both in captivity, he marched in purſuit of Dara, who was ſtill about Lahor. Daüt-Kan was the moſt faithful officer he had in his ſervice: he commanded a body of cavalry poſted upon the river Bear, which it was neceſſary to paſs in the way to Lahor. Aurengezebe deſpairing to force or corrupt him by his promiſes, had recourſe to one of thoſe artifices which never failed him. He diſperſed thro' Lahor by means of his emiſſaries a letter under the name of Daüt-Kan, in which that general mentioned the intelligence he held with Aurengezebe. Dara, who had been ruined in the laſt engagement by repoſing too much

confidence in Calil-Kan, was now ruined a ſecond time by taking umbrage wrongfully at a faithful friend. He recalled Daüt-Kan, he ſuffered his preſence with pain, and at laſt diſgraced him entirely.

He, whom he put in his place, had neither his zeal nor experience. Aurengezebe ſoon forced the paſs, and threw terror into Lahor before he arrived there himſelf. Dara beheld his troops diſconcerted by fear, and readier to ſurrender than to fight; he now perceived that he had no other reſource left than to take refuge in Perſia, to avoid falling into the hands of an enemy, who had ſworn the deſtruction of his own family.

Aurengezebe was purſuing the fugitive prince, when an unforeſeen event obliged him to return. Cha-Chuïa, who had made the firſt attempts upon his father's throne, was advancing by great marches to Agra with a conſiderable army. As the pretext of his firſt enterprize had been to revenge the pretended death of Cha-Jahum, ſo that of the ſecond was to deliver the emperor and Moradbax from the captivity in which the uſurper detained them. It was equally neceſſary for Aurengezebe to purſue an enemy reduced to fly, and to prevent an enemy who was in a condition to attack; he haſted where the danger was the moſt preſſing. He ſoon came up with Cha-Chuïa, and engaged him by ſurpriſe; he fought againſt him man to man, and put him to flight with the reſt of his army. To diſſipate a report which

which had been ſpread of his death, he judged it neceſſary to go to Dely.

His entry there was very magnificent, and the money ſtruck in his name carried this pompous inſcription: *I, King Aurengezebe, Conqueror of the world, have ſtruck this medal as brilliant as the ſun.*

The repoſe which the emperor now enjoyed was of no long duration. He returned back to join his general Bader-Kan, who beſieged Dara in the fortreſs of Bakar. The violence of their aſſaults forced the prince to quit the place and take the way of Perſia. His loſs was one of thoſe misfortunes that cannot be evited. Given-Kan, governor of the laſt province in the Mogul's country, was indebted to him for his life and government by the protection which he had granted him with the emperor Cha-Jaham. He received him at firſt with all the marks of a perfect gratitude. But reflecting afterwards that he could not declare for him without incurring the hatred of the new emperor, he reſolved to deliver up the fugitive prince. He had the baſeneſs to load him with chains, and ſend him to Dely. Aurengezebe threw him into priſon, and ſome days after, condemned him to loſe his head. It is ſaid, that he cauſed it to be brought to him, that he viewed it with pleaſure, and added inſults to his cruelty.

Nothing now remained to confirm to him the empire, but to reduce Cha-Chuïa, the laſt of his brothers, and the ſultan Chacu eldeſt ſon of Dara. He accompliſhed both partly by artifice.

Cha-

Cha-Chuïa being inveſted in Bengal by Aurengezebe's army, perceived the time was come wherein he muſt either periſh by famine, by his own ſword, or that of his enemies. He dreaded above all things falling into Aurengezebe's hands. The connections which he had had with the king of Arracan a neighbouring prince, determined him to take refuge in his court. His firſt reception was as agreeable as it could poſſibly be for an unhappy prince. But contempt and hatred ſoon ſucceeded; and the diſcontent became evident on both ſides. Cha-Chuïa no longer 1658 doubting that his life was in danger, fled to the mountains and the foreſts with his wife and children. The raïa cauſed him to be purſued, and gave orders that he ſhould be maſſacred with all his family.

The ſultan Chacu was no more in ſafety in the kingdom of Sirinahar. His merit, his valour, and his right to the crown, were in the eyes of Aurengezebe ſo many reaſons for ſhortening his life. The prince with whom he had taken ſhelter was incapable of betraying him; but the emperor obtained from the ſon what he durſt not ſo much as aſk from the father. He engaged him by preſents, and ſtill greater promiſes, to deliver Chacu into his hands. They made a party at hunting, the two young princes rambled in the mountains in purſuit of their prey; people planted there in ambuſcade ſeized the unfortunate ſultan, and carried him to the fortreſs of Guallier, where Cha-Jaham and Moradbax were then confined. This laſt, giving occaſion to imaginary

ginary ſuſpicions and uneaſineſs, periſhed at laſt by the bite of a venomous ſerpent. This was the cruel puniſhment to which Aurengezebe condemned him.

In vain did he flatter himſelf that this crime would ſecure his reign in peace. An uſurpation which had coſt ſo much blood and perfidy, did not merit a life of tranquillity. His conduct was imitated by his own children. They revolted againſt him as he had done againſt his father; and the impriſonment of that old man was the ſpecious pretext of the new rebels. Whether they wanted ſtrength or experience in the art of war, their enterprize did not ſucceed, and the unfortunate Cha-Jaham was the innocent victim of it. He died of poiſon which Aurengezebe his ſon obliged him to take.

Foreign princes raiſed up a war which this barbarian could no longer dread from his own family. Sevagi had been formerly governor of a province in the kingdom of Viſapour. Having made away with Aſſel-Kan, the king's general, he had gone over to the party of Aurengezebe, then viceroy of Decan, who yielded to him ſome places in the mogul's empire. After he came to the throne, he wanted to take them from Sevagi. This laſt looking on them as a dominion he had lawfully acquired by his ſervices, refuſed to reſtore them. Irritated at his ingratitude, he ravaged the lands of the empire, defeated one of Aurengezebe's generals, diſperſed his army, took and pillaged Surat. The emperor had never had ſo formidable an enemy on foot againſt him. The chagrine

chagrine which he felt on that account threw him into a diſtemper which laſted for ſome time. When his health and ſtrength permitted him to march againſt the enemy, he took upon himſelf the command of his troops, and reduced Sevagi with all thoſe who had been his adherents. Victory, which ſeemed fixed to his perſon, attended him in a war he maintained on the frontiers againſt Perſia.

Aurengezebe tired with too long a peace, undertook, notwithſtanding his great age, the conqueſt of the country of Golconda, and laid ſiege in perſon to the principal fortreſs. The evident danger which he ran, cauſed him to retire, and leave the command of his army to Azam-Cha. This general perfectly fulfilled the wiſhes of his maſter; he ſurpriſed Abdulacen king of Golconda in his capital, and ſent him priſoner to Dely. In the perſon of this prince ended the race of the kings of Golconda, who drew their origin from the ancient kings of Narſingue.

Nothing more remained for Aurengezebe to be maſter of the whole peninſula, but to ſubdue the ſovereignties of Carnate, Madura, and the country of the mountains. He entered this laſt at the head of a choſen army; the capital was taken by aſſault, the king made priſoner, and condemned to death. But vengeance followed ſoon after. Ram-Raïa being choſen king inſtead of his brother, maintained the war againſt Aurengezebe, defeated him, and obliged him to raiſe the ſiege of Pamalaguere. Azam-Cha, ſon and general of the emperor, was more ſucceſsful

ceſsful in the kingdom of Carnate. He conquered it entirely, with that of Madura. Altho' the emperor was jealous of the ſucceſs of this young prince, he appointed him viceroy of Guzarate. Kambac, the third of his ſons, had the kingdoms of Viſapour and Golconda, under the ſame title. Cha-Halam, the eldeſt of all, had the Mogul properly ſo called, and the weſtern provinces towards the Indus.

Theſe three princes had in their father a model, which they followed too exactly for his tranquillity. His great age let them know, that the throne would be ſoon empty; each of them aſpired to it, and made preparations to take poſſeſſion of it. Kambac, tho' the youngeſt, was the firſt in motion. Aurengezebe finding he had no longer ſtrength to ſupport the fatigues of a civil war, took the reſolution to keep them in obedience by policy; he cauſed Kambac to come to court, under pretence of friendſhip. Azam-Cha, fearing that his brother might inſinuate himſelf into the emperor's affections, and be declared heir to the crown, came likewiſe to court, where he made a conſiderable party for himſelf. At laſt Cha-Halam, who had a ſhort time before triumph'd over Akebar king of Perſia, declared himſelf openly. A great weakneſs, into which the emperor fell, armed the two princes, Kambac, and Azam-Cha, the one againſt the other. Aurengezebe being a little recovered, ordered them to retire to their governments. Kambac obey'd; Azam-Cha remained at Agra till the death of his father, which happened the 4th of March

March 1707. He was above an hundred years of age.

1707 Azam-Cha, who had cloſed his eyes, took poſſeſſion of his throne and treaſures, and put himſelf at the head of the imperial army. Cha-Halam being informed of his father's death, gathered together all the troops he had commanded for ſome years, went to Dely, where he was crowned emperor, and then marched againſt Azam-Cha. The two armies having joined, a hot engagement enſued. The night ſeparated them. The next day, Azam-Cha having renewed the engagement, was vanquiſhed, and killed himſelf out of deſpair. His death placed Cha-Halam in poſſeſſion of the Mogul throne. Afterwards he attacked his brother Kambac, deprived him of his dominions, killed him in a battle, and remained ſole ſovereign of all the the kingdoms which his father had poſſeſſed.

CHAP. X.

The Interruption and Renewing of the Voyages to the Indies. The Eſtabliſhment of the Portugueze.

THE irruption of the barbarous nations gave the Roman empire two wounds equally deep and fatal. The firſt was the raviſhing from her, her fineſt provinces, and almoſt all ſhe poſſeſſed in Europe, excepting High and Low Greece. The ſecond was the interruption of the commerce to the Indles, and ſoon after it's

it's entire abolition. As if there had been an univerſal ſignal iu the north, the Oſtrogoths, the Viſigoths, the Huns, the Alans, the Gepidi, the Heruli, the Suevi, the Vandals, the Burgundians, and the Franks, poured at the ſame time upon Illyria, Dalmatia, Italy, Gaul, and Armorica; and ſome of them with fire and ſword, which they carried every where, opened to themſelves a free paſſage even into Spain and Africa. To ſee them take arms all at once, one would have thought that theſe nations, who knew not one another, and who were frequently enemies, had waited by concert for the fatal moment when the Roman virtue ſhould be on it's decline, as it was when they made their appearance. The time was now no more when every Roman ſoldier deſerved the command of a cohort, when every officer was worthy to lead an army, and when the army carried victory every where along with it. Every thing gave way before the barbarians, the provinces were no ſooner attacked than reduced; the Romans had not even the ſtrength or the courage to ſave Rome from a handful of the Heruli, who came to overthrow the celebrated and formidable throne of the Ceſars. The empire now ſaw herſelf utterly deſtitute of theſe reſources of troops and finances, at the time when they were moſt neceſſary to her. The prince thought on nothing but defending his crown; the armies were not able to make head againſt enemies diſperſed in ſo many different places, ſo fierce and ſo numerous; the Roman fleet was employed in

in defending the remains of Italy, Sicily, and Greece, from the incurſions of the Vandals, whom count Boniface had put in poſſeſſion of Africa, contrary to his intentions.

Theſe wars in the weſt did not end until every thing was ſwallowed up, and then the Cavades and the Coſroes opened their fatal theatre in the eaſt. The bare recital of their cruelties freezes the blood in ones veins. They ſtill kept on their guard againſt them, notwithſtanding that ſhameful treaty of peace which rendered the empire tributary to them for the firſt time, when Mahomet, the falſe prophet of the Arabs, began to execute the deſign he had formed, to make himſelf chief of a religion, a law-giver and a monarch. Scarce had he begun to lay the foundations of his throne on the bloody principles of his doctrine, when all on a ſudden he appeared as a prince as powerful as formidable. To the three Arabias and Syria which he had conquered, Omar, the ſecond of the caliphs his ſucceſſors, joined Meſopotamia, Chaldea, Perſia, and Egypt. The Saracens, well knowing of what importance the conqueſt of this laſt kingdom was to them, ſettled a ſultan there, who depended for a long time on the caliph of Bagdad and Damas, and who made of Egypt all the advantages inſeparable from it's ſituation. His firſt care was to exclude the Romans for ever, and to cauſe all their veſſels which approached the mouths of the Nile to be ſeized on as enemies. Thus the entrance into, and all commerce with, the Indies, were for ever ſhut againſt them

them without reſource. The ſultans his ſucceſſors continued it on the ſame footing that the Romans had eſtabliſhed, and ſupported it until the fifth century. Sanudo, a Venetian, very zealous for the recovery of the holy land and the ruin of the Egyptian ſultan, ſays in a work which he publiſhed on that ſubject, that the greateſt revenue of that prince conſiſted (*a*) in the trade of the ſpiceries and other merchandizes of the eaſt. He takes notice of two principal coaſts of the Indies, Malabar and Cambaia, where the greateſt trade was carried on in his time between the Muſulmen and the Indians. He informs us that they brought their goods to Aden, from whence they were carried to the Red-ſea on camels in nine days, from thence to Babylon in Egypt, that is to ſay, Cairo, and from Cairo to Alexandria; that the duties alone which were paid to the ſultan were in value one third of the goods; and that he was ſo jealous of this trade, that he allowed no Chriſtian paſſage through his country to go to India.

We ſhould then have loſt every thing but the memory of thoſe rich countries, and we ſhould now have looked upon as fabulous the accounts which the ancients have left us of the Indies, if from time to time curioſity, chance, or ſome other cauſe, had not carried thither private perſons, who have tranſmitted to us large relations, chiefly of the High Indies, Thibet, Tartary, and Cathaya or China.

(*a*) Sanudo Secreta Fidel. Crucis, l. i. part i. p. 1.

Before theſe travellers of the middle age, we may place that collection which appeared at London for the firſt time in 1665, of Palladius, an anonymous writer, and Ambroſiaſter. But theſe writers lived about the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, and conſequently before the irruption of the barbarous nations. We find there ſome very curious obſervations on the manners of the Indians, and the doctrines of the Brachmans. We have already given the principal things of this kind at the beginning of this hiſtory. The famous Coſmas, a merchant of Alexandria, made the ſame voyage about the year 530.

We meet with no more travellers to the Indies ſince their time, till the thirteenth century. The connection of the hiſtory of the Tartars with that of the Indies, gives us occaſion to mention the famous embaſſy of two Franciſcan friars, John du Plan Carpin, and Benedict Polonois, whom pope Innocent the 4th ſent to Tartary in 1246, with five Dominican or preaching friars, the chief of whom was brother Aſcelin. The intent of their embaſſy was to ſupplicate Gingis-Kan, king of the Tartars, to put a ſtop to thoſe miſeries with which his army afflicted the chriſtians. Theſe religious men have left us an exact account of their voyage, and this was all the advantage which accrued from it.

Seven years after this, in 1253, St. Lewis king of France being then in Syria, ſent William Rubruquis of the order of minor brothers into Tartary

Tartary and the High Indies, chiefly to inform himſelf of the manners and religion of thoſe diſtant nations.

In 1272, the love of travelling occaſioned Marc Paul the Venetian to ſet out, with his brother and uncle, to viſit the extremities of the world. The ſon made himſelf ſo agreeable to Coplaï, kan of the Tartars, that he kept him a long time at his court in the quality of counſellor to the emperor. Having obtained his diſmiſſion from thence, he travelled thro' India, China, and Japan.

About the end of the ſame century, the famous Haiton, a relation of the king of Armenia, travelled into thoſe vaſt kingdoms whence the Indus and the Ganges derive their origin. Curioſity led him back to ſee Europe, and chiefly France, where he took upon him the habit of the Norbertins, an order of the rule of St. Auguſtin.

Sir John Mandeville, phyſician at St. Albans in England, ſet out in the year 1332, to viſit and examine with accuracy, as much as he could of Africa and Aſia. He ſpent thirty-four years in ſatisfying his curioſity, and penetrated even into China. It cannot be ſufficiently wondered at and regretted, that a man who was ſo well qualified for travel by his ſtudies, ſhould have left ſo ſhort and imperfect an account of them.

Theſe are the principal voyages to the Indies which we know of till the end of the fifteenth century. And altho' they afforded more enter-

tainment than inſtruction with reſpect to thoſe unknown countries, yet they greatly excited the curioſity of thoſe who were fond of long voyages. Nothing kept them at home but the diſtance and difficulty of the paſſage. But when a private perſon had removed and overcome all obſtacles, his return was not only of no ſervice to the public, but gave people pain on account of the impoſſibility they found to carry on a commerce in a country, from whence ſuch great advantages might be drawn. The way by ſea was the only one practicable on that account; and unhappily that paſſage was unknown to the Europeans, altho' in ancient times they had uſed it a good deal * even in the way of commerce.

The French challenge the glory of having made this diſcovery, and the Portugueze vindicate it from them with an ardor which is peculiar to their nation. It is eaſy to determine this difference by hiſtory, which will make the ſhare which both had in it plainly appear. Altho' it is paſt doubt that the weſtern coaſts of Africa were reſorted to by the ancients (*b*), at leaſt as far as the Fortunate iſlands, which were the famous Heſperides ſo much celebrated by the poets, and which they placed in the Atlantic ocean, to which they ſay Hanno the famous Carthaginian conducted a fleet, and whither Sertorius intended to retire to paſs the re-

* Pliny gives many different accounts of voyages from Cadiz to the gulph of Arabia, as well for military expeditions, as for commerce, l. ii. hiſt. nat. c. 67.

(*b*) Plin. hiſt. nat. l. vi. c. 32. Strabo. Solin. Mela. Ptolom.

mainder

mainder of his days in the pleaſures of that boaſted climate; yet the knowledge of them was loſt until the fifteenth century; and thoſe happy iſlands paſſed for a chimera, like the Elyſian fields whoſe name they had given them. Conjecture and chance occaſioned their reality to be acknowledged.

About the year 1401, Jean de Bethencour, a gentleman of the country of Caux, having heard of the king of Spain's intended project to diſcover and conquer the Fortunate iſlands, reſolved to execute that deſign himſelf. He put to ſea (*c*) with ſome of his friends and vaſſals, who were expert in maritime affairs; and after having ranged along the coaſts of France, Spain, and Africa, he happily fell in, in the month of July 1402, with the Canary iſlands, where barbariſm and paganiſm were then predominant. He attacked that which appeared to him of eaſieſt acceſs, he made himſelf maſter of it, and forced the iſlanders to receive him. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he took three others ſucceſſively. But as he found he had not ſufficient force to attempt the conqueſt of the reſt, he went and demanded ſuccours from Henry the third, king of Caſtile. On the account which he gave of his rapid progreſs, the prince granted him every thing he aſked, and gave him beſides the title of the king of the Fortunate

(*c*) Jean de Verriere, hiſtory of the firſt diſcovery of the Canaries. Surita, commentary on the itinerary of Antoninus. Benzoni, hiſtory of the new world. Gomara, hiſtory of the Indies. Mariana, hiſtory of Spain, l. xvi.. c. 16, & alii.

iſlands, on condition he ſhould hold it of the crown of Caſtile. Bethencour having accepted it, returned to his new kingdom, where he compleated the reduction of all the ſeven iſlands, except the grand Canaria. He eſtabliſhed the ſeat of his ſovereignty at Lancelote, where he built a caſtle; and he had for his ſucceſſors Menaud his nephew, Pierre Barbe, Ferdinand Penazza, and Diego de Herrera. After this laſt the Canaries fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

Bethencour is then the firſt who conquered the Canary iſlands, and cauſed the goſpel to be preached there. The news of his eſtabliſhment made a great noiſe in all the courts of Europe, and chiefly excited the emulation and jealouſy of the infant don Henry, duke of Viſeü (*d*), great maſter of the order of Chriſt, and fifth ſon of don John, king of Portugal. That prince, born with the happieſt accompliſhments, had appeared as a prodigy on all occaſions from his earlieſt youth. Full of the great ideas which he had conceived to ſignalize his name, he took for his device theſe French words, which mark out a great field of action: *Talent de bien faire.* One of his firſt projects was to rival Bethencour, in the diſcovery of the iſlands and coaſts of Africa. He equipped ſome veſſels at different times, who diſcovered Cape Non, Cape Boïador, and a ſmall iſland which they called Porto

(*d*) Maffey. Ant. Magin. l. i. P. Laffit. conqueſts of the Portugueze, l. i.

Santo,

Santo, becauſe, believing they ſhould be loſt, it became to them a port of ſafety. But the crew, ſatisfied with what had been done, would proceed no farther; the iſland of Madeira, which they eaſily diſcovered from Porto Santo, became the ſubject of another voyage. The king don Edward I, who ſucceeded don John, encouraged the infant in his projects. He granted to him, during life, the dominion of Porto Santo, Madeira, and all the other lands which he ſhould diſcover on the weſtern coaſt of Afric. This donation was afterwards confirmed by the infant don Peter, brother of the infant don Henry, and regent of the kingdom during the minority of don Alphonſo the 5th, their nephew. That he might ſtrengthen his authority farther, the infant, the chief and conductor of this enterprize, ſent Ferdinand Lopez d'Azevedo, in quality of embaſſador to Pope Martin the 5th, to acquaint him with his diſcoveries, and to demand his protection in the view of the great advantages which might reſult from thence for the good of religion and the honour of the holy ſee. The pope, flattered by the embaſſador's diſcourſe, who attributed to him the abſolute dominion of all the lands of the infidels, iſſued out a bull in the form and tenor that the infant deſired. He generouſly granted to the crown of Portugal the ſovereign dominion of all thoſe lands which ſhould be diſcovered to the Indies incluſively; threatening to excommunicate all thoſe who ſhould trouble them in that poſſeſſion, as if they had been uſurpers; ratifying that

which king Edward had done in favour of the infant, and adding many privileges, graces and indulgences, to the navigators. That bull bears date in 1444. We ſhall ſee theſe donations and privileges confirmed and augmentd by the ſovereign pontifs Eugene the 4th, Nicholas the 5th, and Sixtus the 4th. The infant omitted nothing to make theſe lands valuable, which he imagined he had acquired by a double title, and on that account were liable to no diſputes. He ſent colonies thither, cauſed ſugar-canes and vines to be planted, and he had the comfort before his death to ſee ſome fruits of his trouble and expence.

John the 2d, who ſucceeded his father Alphonſo on the throne of Portugal, entered into the ſame views. Having heard that there was a certain prieſt named John, who, they ſaid, poſſeſſed a vaſt kingdom in Ethiopia, he ſent out on the diſcovery to get accounts of that chriſtian prince, and make an alliance with him, which he expected might favour him in the execution of his project, which was to get acquainted with the ſituation and extent of Africa. Alphonſo de Païva and Peter de Covillan were the chief perſons to whom he committed that affair. But the firſt died at Alexandria, while Covillan, who had embarked in the gulph of Arabia, continued his voyage to the Eaſt-Indies in a merchant ſhip. The rich trade which he ſaw carried on at Cananor, Calicut, and Goa, in fine ſtuffs, pearls, and precious ſtones, filled him with aſtoniſhment, and

he

he was impatient till he had given an account of it to the king his maſter.

The recital which he made of it at the court of Portugal, in 1489, was a more powerful motive than all the reſt to attempt that voyage by the ocean. The king propoſed great rewards to mathematicians, mariners, and aſtronomers, who ſhould find the way to the Indies by ſea. The emulation which he ſpread among perſons expert in theſe ſciences, occaſioned not the invention, as the Portugueze boaſt contrary to all truth, but the bringing to perfection the uſe of the aſtrolabe and the tables of declination for pilots. By means of theſe new aſſiſtances, Diaz and the infant puſhed their navigation in 1493, to the moſt ſouthern part of Afric *(e)*, where they were ſeverely handled by tempeſts. On this account they called that place *Cape Torment*. Diaz got back to Liſbon, all the reſt of the fleet having periſhed in a voyage of ſixteen months and ſeventeen days. The king received him with great demonſtrations of goodneſs and joy. But ſeeing in his relation the name of *Cape Torment*, he deſired it ſhould be called the *Cape of Good-Hope*, becauſe it was a happy preſage of the advantages they ſhould draw from that diſcovery. This place ſeemed in effect to point the way to the ſo much deſired riches of the eaſt, and the famous ports of Aſia.

It was reſerved to Emanuel, ſucceſſor of John the 2d, to compleat that work. He equipped

(e) Barros. Decade i. l. iii. c. 4. Maffey. l. i. c. 17.

three

three large veſſels, able to endure the tempeſtuous ſeas at the cape of Good-Hope; to theſe he added a fourth, ſolely for the carrying of proviſions. Vaſques de Gama, a man of quality, courage and reſolution, was appointed the chief of this expedition. After a long ſeries of dangers and diſappointments, which put his conſtancy to the laſt proofs, he arrived at laſt on the coaſt of Malabar in the road of Calicut, in the Indies properly ſo called, in the year 1498, after a voyage of eleven months. All the hiſtorians whom I have read fix the landing of Gama in this year; but the modern writer of the conqueſts of the Portugueze *(f)*, father Laffiteau, places it a year later.

Calicut was the ſeat and capital of a powerful empire, whoſe ſovereigns generally took the title of *Zamorin*, which anſwers to that of emperor. That ſtate was the moſt maritime, and extended over all Malabar. The good fortune of Gama ordered it ſo, that thoſe whom he ſent to land met with a man who knew them by their dreſs, who received them into his friendſhip contrary to expectation, and did them great ſervices. He was a Moor of the kingdom of Tunis, who forgot the hatred he ought to have for the Portugueze both by birth and religion. His employment of agent of the commerce at Calicut gave him a connection with the caluat,

(f) I incline to believe this is a typographical error, for he ought to have ſaid 1498, as may be ſeen by comparing the pages 77 and 96.

and

and he made uſe of his acceſs with that miniſter of the Zamorin, to give him favourable impreſſions of thoſe ſtrangers. Their arrival was immediately reported to the emperor, and he was made to underſtand that a noble, rich, and warlike nation, was come from the extremities of the world to requeſt his friendſhip, and beſeech him to open his ports to them, that they might carry on a trade with him. So pompous an embaſſy flattered the vanity of the Zamorin; without heſitation he gave them audience, and ſhewed himſelf with all that grandeur and magnificence which are uſual with the monarchs of the eaſt.

When every thing offered to Gama the faireſt proſpects for the glory and advantage of his nation, he was on the brink of ſeeing them raviſhed from them almoſt as ſoon as they appeared. Formidable rivals roſe againſt him. Mahometaniſm had followed the Tartars to the Indies, when they took poſſeſſion of theſe vaſt countries, and it was as predominant there as paganiſm. The declared hatred that the muſulmans bore the chriſtians animated them againſt them; they looked upon them as infidels, whom the law of that impoſtor their prophet ordered them to deſtroy. Policy and intereſt joined in concert with religion. They carried on a very conſiderable commerce in the countries of Mogul and Malabar, to which they came from the coaſts of Afric, Arabia, and Perſia; being the ſole depoſitaries of the riches of the Indies, they brought them to Europe, whence they drew

drew immenſe profits. The fear of being ſupplanted made them conſpire the maſſacre and deſtruction of the Portugueze. They repreſented them to Zamorin as ſpies, who came to view the country, and make themſelves maſters of it, and dethrone the ſovereign. Their clamors made an impreſſion on the prince, he repented of his kindneſs to them, indifference ſucceeded to protection, and the Portugueze became ſuſpected and odious in his eyes.

Gama immediately perceived that fatal change; he eſcaped from the court of Zamorin, and got ſecretly aboard his fleet. From thence he wrote to the prince, complaining of the unjuſt ſuſpicions he had conceived againſt him, of the violation of hoſpitality, and of the ſnares that had been laid for him and his friends, notwithſtanding their innocence. That he might not ſeem to charge the prince with it, he threw the blame on the jealouſy of the mahometans; he let him to underſtand that he had more to expect from the king of Portugal, than all the mahometans together. Zamorin opened his eyes to theſe remonſtrances. He anſwered the complaints of Gama by excuſes; he threw all the blame on his miniſters who had deceived him; he promiſed to enquire into the calumny, and puniſh the guilty ſeverely. To this juſtification he joined an obliging letter to king Emanuel, by which *(g)* he accepted the alliance which the Portugueze had demanded of him,

(g) Maffey, l. i. c. 29.

promiſing

promiſing them all liberty for commerce, provided it was carried on without troubling the peace of his kingdom, and without prejudice to his allies the mahometans, with whom he was obliged to keep terms for reaſons of ſtate. Gama, ſatisfied with this anſwer, ſet ſail and returned to Portugal, to give an account of the ſucceſs of his voyage,

Thoſe who were moſt ſanguine in their expectations, could not flatter themſelves it would have been ſo great. But the joy of Emanuel was beyond that of all others. After having ſolemnly made his acknowledgments to heaven, and to Gama (*b*), whom he permitted to enjoy his glory in an honourable repoſe, he cauſed to be equipped with all care and all poſſible magnificence thirteen veſſels, which he loaded with rich merchandizes and coſtly preſents for Zamorin, who had thought it extraordinary that he had received none from Gama. For ſuch is the cuſtom among the eaſtern monarchs, that none preſent themſelves before them with empty hands. Capral, who had the command of this fleet, was not ſo happy as Gama in his paſſage. All the ſails were ſet waiting for a favourable wind at the cape of Good-Hope, when there aroſe all on a ſudden, one of thoſe violent tempeſts ſo frequent in that climate, by which the fleet was dreadfully toſt during twenty days, and four ſhips were foundered, and not one perſon on board ſaved. A fifth was driven to

(*b*) Maffey, l. ii. c. 1, &c. Magin. l. i. Laffiteau and others.

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the north-eaſt, and from thence to Portugal, to which it brought the news of that diſaſter.

Capral having gathered together the remainder of his ſhattered fleet, continued his way to the Indies, paſſing by Mozambique and Melinda, along the eaſtern coaſt of Afric, and arrived at the Anchedive iſlands in a ſhort time after a very proſperous voyage. Zamorin informed of his approach, ſent the principal lords of his court to congratulate him, and to aſſure him of every thing which depended on him for the ſecurity of their commerce. Elated with this unexpected ſtep, the admiral anſwered, that he would not ſet his foot on land, unleſs he had hoſtages on board for his ſafety; he had even the boldneſs to demand the caluat, and thoſe miniſters in whom Zamorin repoſed the greateſt confidence. The king was aſtoniſhed at this propoſal; he heſitated at firſt, but afterwards, influenced by ſecret motives, conſented to all Capral's demands, and gave him audience, wherein he diſplay'd all his pomp and magnificence. He made him a preſent of a houſe which might be called a palace, whereof the act of donation was written in letters of gold; he gave him the liberty to plant the ſtandard of Portugal on it, to make it a place of azylum, and to appoint a factor for his nation, who opened public magazines, and began to trade.

This begining was too promiſing, not to be liable to ſome fatal revolution. The Portugueze hiſtorians pretend, that the too great confidence which Correa their factor or conſul repoſed in

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two rich Mooriſh merchants, was the cauſe of the unhappy revolution which happened, and which rendered abortive all their projects with Zamorin. Whether or not Correa had been deceived by the Saracens, who, they alledged, perſuaded him that the king ſecretly obſtruct their commerce, it is certain that he attack'd and took by force a large ſhip, in which amongſt other things were ſeven elephants belonging to the Indians, and a few days after another which put in at the harbour. The inhabitants of Calicut flocked together to the number of four thouſand men in arms, to revenge the inſult which had been offered them. They inveſted the houſe of the Portugueze, they forced the gates, pillaged it, put every thing to fire and ſword, and of ſixty-ſix Portugueze killed ſixty, amongſt whom was Correa. The reſt ſaved themſelves with difficulty at the ſea ſide, where they got aboard the boats that had been ſent from the fleet on the firſt noiſe of the tumult.

The admiral, not knowing that Zamorin was concerned in this violence, waited ſome days for the apology which he thought was due to him. But receiving no ſatisfaction, he imagined he was entituled to do juſtice to himſelf. He made preparations for attacking thirteen large Mooriſh veſſels which were in the harbour; he ſunk the greateſt number by the terrible fire which he made upon them, and threw into chains thoſe who manned the reſt. Equally enraged againſt the inhabitants of Calicut, he cannonaded the city two whole days, killed ſix hundred men, levelled

levelled with the ground ſeveral houſes, and obliged the king to retire to one of his country houſes, terrified at having ſeen one of his chief favourites carried off from his ſide by a cannon ball.

After this vigorous ſtroke, nothing remained for Capral but to go and ſeek his fortune elſewhere. He did not incline to return to Portugal with the reputation of having, as the only product of his voyage, made war upon a prince, whoſe alliance had given ſuch elevated hopes to his countrymen. He made ſail to Cochin, thirty leagues to the ſouthward of Calicut. It was the capital of a ſmall ſtate tributary to Zamorin. The name of the reigning prince was Trimumpara. What he had heard of the Portugueze, and the war he had juſt been waging with Zamorin, prejudiced him luckily in their favour. At the firſt interview he made an alliance with them, and granted them every thing they demanded, both for the preſent and the time to come. As this country is the moſt fertile of Indoſtan in ſpiceries, Capral made ſuch a cargo as he wiſhed. As he was preparing to return to Europe, he was informed that the kings of Coulan and Cananor wanted to make an alliance with his maſter. But the ſeaſon of the year preſſing him, he had not time to enter into a treaty; he contented himſelf with paying a viſit to the king of Cananor, taking aboard ſome mercantile goods, and receiving the embaſſador which that prince ſent to Emanuel with thoſe of Coulan and Cochin, who

who arrived at Liſbon the eve of St. John's day, in the year 1501.

This quadruple alliance gave uneaſineſs to Zamorin. He declared war againſt the three princes in confederacy with Portugal, and he of Cochin was the victim of his reſentment, by the defeat of his troops, and the taking of his city, notwithſtanding the efforts of the admiral de Novre whom Emanuel had ſent out before Cabral's return. But a few months afterwards the face of affairs was entirely changed in favour of the king of Cochin, by the preſence of Alphonſo and Francis Albuquerque, who had ſailed from Portugal in 1503, with a fleet of ten ſhips. Francis cut to pieces, or put to flight, the garriſons which Zamorin had thrown into the iſle of Cochin, and brought back the king, whom a compleat defeat had forced to retire elſewhere. Not contented with this firſt ſucceſs, the conqueror ſent ſix hundred of his ſeamen, to attack two neighbouring iſlands which the raïas or caïmales, that is to ſay, the noblemen of the country, had ſeized upon. He defeated their troops, left one of them upon the field of battle, burned their palaces, ravaged their lands, beat a fleet of fifty galleys which belonged to Zamorin, made ſeveral incurſions always with the ſame ſucceſs, and returned to Cochin covered with glory.

As expert a politician as he was a brave warrior, he failed not to take advantage of the high reputation which he had acquired, and of the ſignal ſervice he had done the king of Cochin. He demanded leave to build a fortreſs in his city.

That prince perhaps did not penetrate into the deſigns of Albuquerque; or if he ſuſpected them, thought he could refuſe nothing to the man who had replaced him on his throne. He not only conſented to it, but furniſhed him with workmen and materials beſides, without reflecting that he was at the ſame time forging chains for himſelf. The general, who had great reaſon to be afraid ſo haſty a conſent might ſoon be repented of, loſt no time. He choſe out an elevated ſituation, which commanded the city and the harbour, he traced out the plan of the fortreſs, and for want of ſtones and mortar cut down the palm trees which the king had marked out for him. Four days after they had begun the building Alphonſo Albuquerque arrived, who employed all his people in the work, and haſtened it in ſuch a manner that it was compleated in a very ſhort time, as well as the church which he cauſed to be built immediately afterwards. The Portugueze writers imagine that on this day Albuquerque took as it were a real poſſeſſion of the Indies, and that by means of this fort he enthralled all thoſe provinces of which their nation had the dominion for about a century.

But is there any glory in having laid the foundations of that vaſt power by opening a frightful career of injuſtice, uſurpation, violence and cruelty? What right, what title, what reaſon had the Portugueze to diſturb the Indians in the poſſeſſion of their lands? on what principle or pretext could they declare war againſt them,

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and cauſe torrents of blood to run on all ſides, when they diſputed with them what could not belong to them? The firſt ſentiments of national equity and humanity will for ever hold in deteſtation the Seſoſtriſes, the Alexanders, Mahomets, Omars, Genghiſcans, Coplais, and Tamerlanes, who were tranſported by the fury of conqueſt and ambition, and ſeemed to be born for the violation of laws, and the deſtruction of mankind. What difference is there between the war which Alexander made upon Porus, and thoſe which the Albuquerques carried on againſt his ſucceſſors and the other kings of the Indies? But theſe reproaches do not fall on the body of the nation, who have diſavowed and condemned them highly.

After the Portugueze had eſtabliſhed themſelves in the citadel of Cochin, they thought themſelves at liberty to procure others by all imaginable methods. Some rich men of the country, vaſſals of the king of Cochin, had ſeized on the cantons where they had lands. On the ſhadow of this pretext, and under colour of a juſt vengeance, the Albuquerques made incurſions on theſe cantons, ravaged the country, burned the villages, deſtroyed an infinite number of Indians, and poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe places which they ſaid ought not to be in the hands of uſurpers. They took thirty-four paraos or ſmall craft of Calicut which diſturbed the commerce of Cochin, and cruiſed along the coaſt. They would have made greater progreſs, or rather, committed greater ravages, if the hu-

manity of Trimumpara, concerned even for his enemies, had not obliged them to ſuſpend the courſe of their bloody executions.

The Indians, witneſſes or victims of theſe hoſtilities, began to believe that the mahometans had reaſon to inſpire them with hatred and averſion at thoſe ſtrangers; they imagined that the Tartars were returned in the perſons of the Portugueze. Zamorin, no leſs terrified than his ſubjects, beſought peace of the Albuquerques. It was treated and concluded with ſo much ſecrecy, that the Moors of Calicut knew nothing of it till it's publication, when they were enraged to ſee their intereſts ſacrificed to thoſe of their rivals. By this treaty the prince engaged to live in good underſtanding with the king of Cochin, to evacuate his ports, and not to diſturb his commerce. He obliged himſelf to pay fifteen hundred bahars of pepper (*i*), and ſome quintals of other merchandiſes, in recompence of what the Portugueze had ſuffered in the unhappy affair of Calicut. Laſtly, he promiſed to ſuffer none of the Moors who depended on him to trade in the gulph of Arabia, and conſequently he re-eſtabliſhed the Portugueze factory at Calicut.

Nothing could be more flattering, and at the ſame time more glorious for the Portugueze. But they wanted no other enemies than themſelves, to deprive them of the advantages they might have drawn from it. Their avarice was

(*i*) The bahar is a meaſure weighing four quintals.

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the occaſion. Ferdinand Correa, their factor at Cochin, having learned that there was a veſſel in the road loaded with pepper on account of Zamorin, gave orders to his people to ſeize it. In vain the maſter alledged the peace, and the treaty of alliance lately made. In vain he remonſtrated that the veſſel belonged to Zamorin, and that it was deſigned to make payment in part of what was due to the Portugueze, to whom he had already remitted eight hundred bahars. Avarice and violence prevailed over juſtice; the veſſel was carried off by force, ſix Indians periſhed in it's defence, and many more made their eſcape covered with wounds. Francis d'Albuquerque, to whom complaints were made, took ſo little notice of them, that he did not ſo much as condeſcend to anſwer or make the leaſt ſhew of giving ſatisfaction. As all his veſſels had got in their loading, he ſoon returned to Europe.

Zamorin more enraged than ever, reſolved to do himſelf juſtice in proportion to the inſult he had received. The indignation of his ſubjects facilitated his levying a numerous army, both by ſea and land, and he was ſoon ready to take the field. The Albuquerques in haſte to depart, left Edward Pacheco to make head againſt them. Cochin, and the country about, was the theatre of a war, which laſted ſeveral months with incredible ſlaughter. Sometimes ſkirmiſhes, ſometimes pitched battles were fought, and if the Portugueze were not abſolutely conquerors, they at leaſt wearied out

the conſtancy of Zamorin, notwithſtanding their ſmall numbers.

This ſeries of proſperity gained them ſuch a reputation in Indoſtan, that they gave the law, wherever they appeared. The firſt conditions in their treaties with princes were, that they ſhould acknowledge themſelves tributary to the king of Portugal; and allow his ſubjects to build magazines, or even citadels, in the heart of their capitals, or wherever elſe they thought fit. With reſpect to commerce, they fixed a price upon merchandiſes at their pleaſure; and cauſed their magazines to be filled in the firſt place. No other merchant could begin upon his cargo, till they had finiſhed theirs; nobody in ſhort could navigate thoſe ſeas without being ſubject to be viſited by them, and without taking a paſs-port from the governors or factors eſtabliſhed by the general. This ſuperiority could not but be odious to all the other nations; but fear obliged ſome to ſilence, and others ſubmitted thro' private and domeſtic intereſts.

Such were their notions in Portugal, that Emanuel in the ſame perſuaſion put to ſea (*l*) a fleet of thirteen ſhips and ſix caravels, under the command of don Francis Almeida, count of Abrantes. According to the inſtructions given that admiral, he was to reſide in the Indies at firſt in quality of governor or captain general, afterwards to build fortreſſes in places marked out by the court, and then to take upon him the title of viceroy. To ſupport that name and dignity

(*l*) Maffey, l. iii. Magin. l. ii. Laffiteau, l. iii.

nity in a ſuitable manner, the king aſſigned him large appointments, one hundred men for his guard, and a chapel provided with his own chaplains and muſicians. He ſet ſail from Liſbon the 30th of June 1505, and arrived the 13th of September in the ſame year at the Anchedive iſlands. They give that name in the language of the country to five neighbouring iſlands, ſituated a little below Goa. The general's firſt care was to build a fort in the principal iſland, with wood which he had brought from Portugal, and which was quite ready to be put together.

This new eſtabliſhment raiſed a jealouſy, and occaſioned uneaſineſs among the neighbouring princes. The king of Onor apprehenſive for his dominions, took the reſolution to ſeek the friendſhip of the Portugueze; he ſent an embaſſador to the general with his propoſals. When the edifice was nearly compleated, Almeida went to Cananor, where he immediately took upon himſelf the title of viceroy. As he was the firſt of his nation who bore it in a country where they had not been above ſeven years, he forgot nothing that might increaſe it's ſplendor. He appeared in public with all the pomp that his vanity inſpired; and he affected ſtill more in the interview which he had with the king of Cananor. He behaved towards that prince as a ſuperior to an inferior. He renewed the firſt alliances which had been made with him, he regulated the conditions of them, and one of the principal was, that he ſhould build a citadel near Cananor, whereof the king ſhould furniſh the materials, and himſelf the workmen.

The haughtineſs of the viceroy was ſtill increaſed when he ſaw himſelf ſought after by the king of Carnate or Biſhagar. That prince, beſides the large dominions which he poſſeſſed in the peninſula of the Indies on this ſide the Ganges, extended them farther towards the coaſt of Coromandel, oppoſite to that of Malabar. He took upon himſelf the title of king of kings, becauſe he had many of them for his tributaries, and particularly the king of Onor. He ſent an embaſſador to the viceroy, to aſſure him of his eſteem and friendſhip. That he might give him a ſincere proof of it, he gave him liberty to build fortreſſes in all his ſea-port towns, except that of Baticula, which he had aſſigned over to others; and to bind ſtill cloſer the bonds of alliance, which he entered into with his nation, he offered his daughter in marriage to the king of Portugal, whoſe ſingular beauty even added to the ſplendor of her rank and birth. Almeida accepted the treaty of alliance, gave the embaſſador good words, and diſmiſſed him with magnificent preſents both for himſelf and his maſter.

His orders and his intentions were, not to content himſelf with ſimple alliances; he was henceforth to domineer openly over the princes themſelves. A revolution which happened at the court of Cochin, furniſhed him with an opportunity. Trimumpara, that conſtant, faithful, and generous friend to the Portugueze, was no longer upon the throne. His devotion had induced him to abdicate it, and retire, accord-

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ing to a cuſtom common enough with the Brachman kings, to a ſolitude, and there devote himſelf entirely to the duties of religion. When he quitted the ſceptre, he placed it in the hands of his nephew Naubeadora, who, he knew, had always entertained a great affection for the Portugueze, altho' he had a nearer relation, but one who was a friend to Zamorin. Almeida ſeeing that the new prince owed in a manner his fortune to the Portugueze, took advantage of that conjuncture to impoſe on him the yoke of his nation. In a public audience which was given him, he ſaid in preſence of the whole court, that king Emanuel his maſter, deſirous to acknowledge the important ſervices Trimumpara had rendered to the Portugueze, had charged him with the taſk of teſtifying his gratitude. But that prince not being in a condition to receive it himſelf, he would beſtow it upon his ſucceſſor. So ſaying, he put upon his head a crown of gold, a diſtinguiſhing mark of royal authority, which he conferred on him under the protection of Portugal, exempting him from that moment from all ſubordination to Zamorin, or any other whatſoever, giving him permiſſion to coin money, and engaging to defend him againſt all his enemies. He made him a preſent of a cup of gold weighing ſix cruſades Portugal money; and he added, that in order to free the king and city of Cochin from all dangers of inſult, he had orders to build a new citadel, ſtronger than the former, which ſhould be as a rampart to his dominions. Nothing diſguſted the

the Indian prince in this ceremony, ſo prejudicial both to his glory and intereſt. He condeſcended to every thing, even with teſtimonies of gratitude, and gave the viceroy a written act to that import. Thus hiſtorians remark that Naubeadora acknowledged himſelf henceforth a vaſſal to the crown of Portugal, and that he was ſo in reality.

That degree of ſatisfaction which Almeida thence received, was equalled by his grief at the arrival of Alphonſo d'Albuquerque who came in his place, not as viceroy, for Emanuel had ſuppreſſed that title, but as general governor of the Indies. Enraged to loſe his rank which he believed his right on many accounts, he ſhut up his ſucceſſor in the citadel of Cananor as a priſoner; he allowed him only three domeſtics, and ſeized on his houſe, his papers, and all his effects. His confinement did not end till three months afterwards, by the arrival of Ferdinand Coutigno, grand marſhal of the kingdom of Portugal, with fifteen ſhips and three thouſand armed men, who put him in poſſeſſion of his government. Almeida ſet ſail immediately for Europe, and was ſlain by the Caffres at the Cape of Good-Hope.

While the grand marſhal was making an attack upon Calicut, where, by his imprudence, he loſt both the victory and his life; Siqueira departed from Cochin the 19th of Auguſt 1509, to go on the diſcovery of the eaſtern iſlands. The third day he made that of Ceylon, of which Almeida had before taken poſſeſſion in 1506.

He

He croſſed the gulph of Bengal, ſailed along the iſlands of Nicobar, and went into harbour at Pedir in the kingdom of Achem at the point of the iſland of Sumatra. As he was the firſt Portugueze that had landed on that iſland, and it might paſs for a new diſcovery, he obtained liberty of the kings of Pedir and Pacen, with whom he made an alliance, to erect a ſtandard with the arms of Portugal, as other navigators had been uſed to do on diſcovering the coaſts of Africa. But having no intention to ſtay there, he ſet ſail a few days after for Malacca, where he arrived on the eleventh of September, at the extremity of the peninſula of that name, which had been heretofore a part of the kingdom of Siam. The danger which he run there of being aſſaſſinated by the treachery of Bendara, the king of the country, prevented him from continuing his voyage; and the quarrels which he had had with Albuquerque on account of Almeida, determined him to return directly to Europe without ſeeing the governor.

This laſt was then engaged in two grand projects, both which ſucceeded according to his wiſhes. The firſt was, to make himſelf maſter of Goa in the iſland of Ticuarin, which is about nine or ten leagues in circumference, and is agreed to be the moſt advantageous poſt on all the coaſt of Malabar. The king of Decan, to whom it naturally belonged, but to whom the great men of the realm had only left the ſhadow of authority, had entruſted it to an officer of his crown, a Moor by birth and religion, named Idalcan.

Idalcan. Notwithſtanding all his care to fortify the place with every thing poſſible for defence, it was taken by aſſault by the Portugueze fleet and that of the king of Onor, which Timoia commanded. Albuquerque made a triumphant entry into it on the 17th of February 1510. He appointed Antonio de Norogna his nephew governor of the town. Gaſpar de Payva had the direction of the factory which he eſtabliſhed there for the commerce, and he gave the charge of comptroller general of the finances of the city and kingdom of Goa to Timoia, who had under him farmers, both Moors and Pagans, for the receipt of the cuſtoms and other duties, amounting annually to eighty-two thouſand pieces of gold. Imagining that his preſence would be neceſſary in a conqueſt which could not fail to be diſputed with him, he took up his reſidence in Idalcan's palace, where his wives and his ſeraglio ſtill were. He conjectured right; for Goa was the theatre of war the ſix following years. But it had not the titles of an archbiſhoprick and primacy of the Indies till 1559, and the famous tribunal of the inquiſition was eſtabliſhed there the year after.

The ſecond project of Albuquerque was to get poſſeſſion of the gulph and city of Ormus (*m*). He had no more right and pretence to that than to Goa; but the deſire of acquiring glory, and contributing to the grandeur of his

(*m*) Maffey, part I. l. iii. c. 9. Mandelſlo, p. 35. Laffiteau, t. i. p. 275, 508.

nation,

nation, was to him a ſufficient motive to attempt any thing that had a reference to the one or the other. He had already made this attempt, but without ſucceſs, ſome years ago; ſince which the kings of Ormus would not deliver up to him the citadel he had begun to build, nor grant the Portugueze a factory in their city, nor even reſtore to them the effects that had been taken from them. But as their city would be ruined without a commerce to the Indies, and as they could not carry it on without the permiſſion and paſs-port of the governor general, policy and neceſſity had obliged them to pay to the crown of Portugal an annual tribute, in order to obtain the liberty of trade.

Albuquerque, who had reſolved to gain an eſtabliſhment in Perſia for his nation, or to ſtop that paſſage againſt the Saracens, aimed on that account to make himſelf maſter of Ormus. As at leaſt ſome ſhadow of pretence was neceſſary to begin the war, he ſent to demand that the citadel, which he had already raiſed to a certain height, ſhould be delivered up to him. The denial which he expected, ſerved him as an apparent motive to take arms. The throne of Ormus was then filled by a young prince named Torun-Cha, whom a cabal had placed there, in order to leave all the authority in the hands of Noradin firſt miniſter of ſtate. This laſt had been dexterouſly ſupplanted by one of his nephews, called Hamed, whom he himſelf had brought to court. Albuquerque having anchored with his fleet before Ormus, ſent and ſignified his intentions.

Torun-

Torun-Cha and Noradin were not diſpleaſed at ſeeing him there, hoping that his preſence might occaſion ſome revolution which ſhould deliver them from the ſlavery in which they were held by Hamed. He alſo was embarraſſed and dejected. The king preferring the dominion of the Portugueze to the imperious tyranny of his miniſter, ſhook off his timidity and ſlavery in order to ſtrike a ſtroke of authority. He put Albuquerque in poſſeſſion of the citadel, which he compleated with all expedition; he aſſigned him ſome houſes in the town to eſtabliſh his quarters there and a factory, and he cauſed the banner of Portugal to be quartered on his palace. Hamed was enraged at this, but his fears prevented his appearing abroad. Albuquerque being informed that he ſought an opportunity to take away his life, was beforehand with him, cauſing him to be aſſaſſinated by the Portugueze guard.

The king did little leſs than thank Albuquerque for the liberty to which he had reſtored him. He did not foreſee the act of perfidy which the admiral, ambitious for his nation, was preparing for him. On a falſe report, of which he was probably the author, that the fleet of the Egyptian caliph was going to make a deſcent on Ormus, he cauſed his men immediately to go aboard their ſhips, and ſent to demand of the king all the artillery of the palace and city, which he ſaid was neceſſary to repulſe the enemy. The council perceiving the danger and imprudence of diſarming themſelves in this manner, alledged divers pretences to excuſe their denial.

But

But Albuquerque anſwered, that he would not depart before they were delivered up to him. They were then obliged to it, and the admiral would not reſtore them. To this glaring piece of treachery he added another, ſtill more atrocious. From the eaſtern maxims of jealouſy and cruelty, fifteen princes of the blood royal had loſt their eyes, that themſelves and their children might for ever be rendered incapable of the throne. On pretence that troubles might ariſe on their account, he cauſed them to be delivered up to him, and ſent them all to Goa, to keep them under a ſtrong guard, that they might ſerve as hoſtages, in caſe any thing ſhould be attempted againſt his nation. Laſtly, when he departed from Ormus, he recommended to Peter d'Albuquerque, whom he left governor of the citadel, to make himſelf maſter of the two children of Zeifadin, that he might keep the king in fear of the danger he was expoſed to from theſe two young princes, who were the lawful heirs to the crown. He engroſſed all the commerce of the place, but he did not keep it many years. We ſhall here put a ſtop to our hiſtory of the diſcovery and conqueſt of the Indies.

Such were the conduct and maxims of the great Albuquerque, ſo much boaſted of by the Portugueze. Thoſe who had gone before him, had pretty nearly the ſame ſentiments; and his ſucceſſors exactly followed his footſteps. What would the Portugueze of that time have anſwered, if they had been aſked what they thought of the Vandals, the Viſigoths, and the Suevi, who

who over-ran Spain in the beginning of the fifth century, and the Saracens in the eighth? They would have had no other reſource, than to oppoſe their chriſtianity to the infidelity of the Indians, whom they intended, as they ſaid, to convert to the faith; and the papal bulls which gave to the Portugueze all the lands of the infidels from the Canary iſlands to the Moluccoes, and to the Spaniards, all the new diſcoveries on the weſtern coaſt and America, to the ſame place, which was to be the boundary between the two nations. But that donation was only granted them on condition they ſhould preach the goſpel there, and earneſtly endeavour to propagate the faith. All the bulls of conceſſion bear it expreſsly.

The chiefs of the colonies of commerce and navigation, who never ſhould have loſt ſight of this eſſential object, thought on nothing but making diſcoveries and conqueſts, building forts, carrying away the trade from the mahometans, the Chaldeans, and even the natives of the country, and ſeizing on every thing for the Portugueze. Thus it may be ſaid they became ſovereigns of the maritime Indies and the adjacent iſlands for near a century, from which they drew immenſe riches in gold, precious ſtones, pearls, ſpiceries, valuable woods, drugs and ſtuffs, which they ſold again to the European merchants at what price they thought fit. It was by thoſe forcible courſes that they ſpread terror every where; and made eſtabliſhments along the coaſt of Malabar and Coromandel, in the gulph of Bengal, in the kingdoms

doms of Camboya, Decan, Malacca, Patana, Siam and Japan, in all the ſea ports, and in the rich iſlands of Ceylon, the Moluccoes, the Maldives, Amboyna, Saint Thomas, and many others. However, in excuſing the Portugueze of theſe exceſſes in the Indies, perhaps ſincerity will oblige us to faſten the ſame reproaches on the Dutch, by whom they have been outed of their trade and commerce; on the Engliſh who followed them, and the Spaniards in America. The French have alone the ſatisfaction not to ſee their nation blackened in the accounts of travellers even foreigners. If their company is not ſo rich and powerful as that of the States General, it is becauſe they prefer honour, and the preſervation of the rights of nations, to the advantages of a more flouriſhing and gainful commerce. Our factories and eſtabliſhments are ſocieties with the natives of the country, whom we ſuffer to enjoy in peace the effects and lands they have received from their fathers. It is thus that entire juſtice ought to be done.

But it is however altogether uncertain if theſe conqueſts have been advantageous to thoſe who purſued them with ſo much ardor. In this manner one of our hiſtorians (*n*) expreſſes himſelf, whoſe reflections are much eſteemed. "Chriſtopher Columbus, having attached himſelf to Ferdinand king of Spain, diſcovered the Weſt-Indies; and John king of Portugal, father

(*n*) Mezeray, on Charles VIII. at the year 1496: t. ii. p. 801. the folio edition, 1685.

of Manuel, cauſed to be diſcovered all the new kingdoms of Africa and the Eaſt-Indies, of whom little or nothing had been hitherto known to the inhabitants of Europe. Pope Alexander finding now an opportunity to paſs for the ſovereign of mankind, granted at the firſt requeſt of Ferdinand, a donation of all the lands, iſlands or continents, diſcovered or to be diſcovered towards the weſt and ſouth, drawing a line from the Artic to the Antratic pole, which ſhould be diſtant from the iſlands called Azores or Cape Verde, one hundred leagues, towards the weſt, or the ſouth. Provided however that the other iſlands or lands which ſhould be conquered by other chriſtian princes beyond this line, ſhould remain to them. A donation which has ſince occaſioned violent and bloody quarrels between the Caſtilians and the Portugueze, becauſe this laſt pretended that other popes, particularly Eugene the fourth, had granted them by expreſs bulls all the lands of the new world. I ſhall not pretend to ſay which have right on their ſide. But only that theſe navigators have carried nothing leſs into thoſe countries than the goſpel and chriſtian charity; and on the contrary, have brought back into Europe the ſource of all diſcord; I mean thoſe ingots of gold with which the houſe of Auſtria has ever ſince fomented the diviſions of Chriſtendom; and which have occaſioned ſuch a ſluggiſhneſs and vanity in the minds of the Spaniards, that they have left their native lands almoſt deſolate to run to thoſe mines.

End of the Firſt Part.



A NEW HISTORY OF THE EAST-INDIES.

PART II.

Of the Modern Indies.

CHAP. I.

Chorographical Deſcription of the Modern Indies.

THE Indies have loſt nothing among the moderns, of that eſteem which they were poſſeſſed of among the ancients. The curious do not heſitate to make a voyage of above three thouſand leagues, to viſit the wonders of that country;

it's riches make our merchants forget the trou
ble, the fatigue, and danger of a long and pain
ful navigation; the learned throughout all Eu
rope carefully ſeek after it's animals and plant
to ſtudy the ſingularities of nature, more vari
ous and fertile in theſe countries than in ours
it's beauties adorn the palaces of princes, an
add ſplendor to the diadem of ſovereigns.

Since theſe two hundred and forty years, tha
the Portugueze have found the way to the In
dies by the Cape of Good-Hope, the voyage
thither by the Spaniards, the Hollanders, th
Engliſh, and the French, have been almoſt in
finite. Every one of theſe nations has made it
particular diſcoveries there; and at preſent the
country is almoſt as well known to us, as an
province bordering upon their kingdom is t
Frenchmen. The Indies, according to the late
obſervations, extend from the 83d degree o
longitude, to the 130th; and from the equato
to the 23d degree of north latitude. From Chin
to Perſia, which bound theſe countries on th
eaſt and weſt, there are reckoned about fiv
hundred leagues; and there are almoſt as man
from the extremity of the peninſula beyond th
Ganges to Tartary, which bounds the In
dies on the northern ſide.

The air cannot be the ſame throughout the
vaſt extent of country; but in general it is goo
and healthy. The rains which fall continuall
from the beginning of June till the end o
Auguſt, ſerve to refreſh it, eſpecially in the tw
peninſulas, which are almoſt entirely within th
torri

rrid zone. They render the earth fruitful, hich furniſhes in abundance all the neceſſaries f life, except towards the north, where it does ot anſwer equally the cares of thoſe who culti- ate it. From hence ariſes that almoſt infinite umber of inhabitants in the Indies; and which ompoſe even at this day fifty-two kingdoms nd different principalities, whereof 'tis true the reateſt part depend on the principal ſovereigns f the country, according to the ancient uſages f that nation. But to give a chorographical eſcription of them in order, it is neceſſary to ivide them into different parts. Towards the orth, are the eſtates of the great mogul; in the iddle, the two peninſulas, the one on this ſide, nd the other beyond the Ganges; and towards he ſouth, thoſe celebrated iſlands, of equal im- ortance with the continent.

SECT. I.

Of the Eſtates of the Great Mogul.

ABout the year 1203, the famous Gingis-Kan made that cruel irruption into the Indies, which put the Mogul Tartars in poſ- ſeſſion of that vaſt extent of country, which is bounded on the north and eaſt by Great Tartary, and by the dominions of the king of Ava: on the ſouth, by the peninſula on this ſide the Ganges; and on the eaſt, by Perſia and the ocean. It is this monarchy which is called Indoſtan, that is to ſay, the country of the In-

dies, or India Proper. Some authors make it 650 leagues from eaſt to weſt, and more than 400 from ſouth to north. The reigning prince in the middle of the 17th century, was called Cha-Halam, and deſcended *(a)* in a direct line from the famous Zingis, by Tamerlane, the conqueror of the fierce Bajazet. The riches and power of theſe monarchs, made them take the title of grand ſignior, or emperor king. Thoſe who fix the treaſure of the empire at the loweſt valuation, make it to amount to three hundred, or three hundred and fifty millions. But a traveller (*b*) generally eſteemed, makes it amount to a ſum, which he owns himſelf would be incredible, were it not founded on a monument as authentic as is that which he relates. He expreſſes himſelf in the following manner.

" At Agra, the capital of the government and kingdom of Indoſtan, there is in the palace where the great mogul ſometimes reſides, an apartment, diſtinguiſhed a by high tower, the roof whereof is covered with plates of gold, a ſign of the riches contained within it, in eight large vaults full of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, the value whereof is almoſt ineſtimable. I have been informed, that the great mogul who lived in my time (in 1638) was in poſſeſſion of a treaſure in value more than fifteen hundred millions of crowns; and I am ſo lucky as to have in my poſſeſſion, an inventory of the

(*a*) See Thevenot, vol. v. p. 9. Amſterdam edit. 1727.
(*b*) Mandelſlo, voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, p. 119, &c.

riches

riches found in the treaſury of his great grandfather after his death, as well in coined money, as in ingots, bars, plate, jewels, brocades, and other ſtuffs, in porcelain, manuſcripts, warlike ſtores, arms, &c. ſo faithfully ſet down, that I have thought fit to add it here, for the ſatisfaction of my readers."

Achobar, for ſo that prince was called, cauſed a certain ſpecies of money to be coined, of the value of twenty-five, fifty, and a hundred *toles*, which were worth two thouſand twelve and a half, four thouſand and twenty-five, and eight thouſand and fifty crowns, each piece, amounting to the ſum of ſix millions nine hundred and ſeventy thouſand *maſſas*, which make ninety-ſeven millions five hundred and eighty thouſand *roupies*; or forty eight millions, ſeven hundred and ninety thouſand crowns, money of France.

He had beſides, a hundred millions of roupies, or fifty millions of crowns, in a certain ſpecies of money called after his name, *roupies of Achobar*. The common roupie is ſtill worth thirty ſols.

Two hundred and thirty millions of another ſpecies of money, which they call *peiſes* or *pechas*, thirty of which make a roupie, and ſixty, a crown. Thus the value of theſe pechas amounts to ſeven hundred ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſeven roupies, wanting ten ſols, which again make three hundred and fiftythree thouſand three hundred and thirty-three crowns ten ſols.

In diamonds, rubies, emeralds, ſaphires, pearls,

and other jewels, to the value of ſixty millions twenty thouſand five hundred and twenty-one roupies, which amount to above ninety millions of livres.

In wrought gold, in figures and ſtatues, of elephants, camels, horſes, and other ſuch like curioſities, to the value of nineteen million ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-five roupies, that is to ſay, above twenty-eight millions.

In moveables and veſſels of gold, ſuch as plates, drinking veſſels, baſons, &c. the value of eleven millions ſeven hundred and thirty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety roupies, which amount to ſixteen millions of livres, nearly.

In veſſels of copper, fifty-one thouſand two hundred and twenty-five roupies, or ſeventy-ſix thouſand eight hundred and thirty-ſix livres.

In porcelain, veſſels of ſealed earth, &c. to the value of two millions.

In brocades, cloths of gold and ſilver, or ſtuffs of cotton and ſilk from Perſia, Turkey, Europe, and Guzarate, fifteen millions five hundred and nine thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-nine roupies.

In linen of Europe, Perſia and Tartary, five hundred and three thouſand two hundred and fifty-two roupies.

In tents, carpets, tapeſtry, and other furniture, for the city or the field, nine millions nine hundred and twenty-five thouſand five hundred and forty-five roupies.

Twenty-four thouſand manuſcript volumes, and thoſe ſo richly bound, that they have been valued

valued at ſix millions four hundred and ſixty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-one roupies; which compoſes a library worth above nine millions of livres.

In artillery, ball, gun-powder, and other warlike ſtores, eight millions five hundred ſeventy-five thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy roupies.

In arms offenſive and defenſive, ſuch as ſwords, pikes, bows, arrows, &c. above ſeven millions five hundred and fifty thouſand five hundred and twenty-five roupies.

In ſaddles, bridles, and other horſe furniture of gold and ſilver, three millions eight hundred thouſand livres.

In coverings for horſes and elephants embroidered with gold, ſilver, and pearls, ſeven millions and five hundred thouſand livres.

All theſe ſums added together, amount to ſix hundred and twenty-two millions three hundred and thirty-nine thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-nine livres. Yet, continues Mandelſlo, all theſe riches of the Mogul Achobar, are almoſt nothing in compariſon with thoſe which his great grandſon Schach-Chorrom was poſſeſſed of in 1638, and at this day with much greater reaſon. They increaſe every day, not ſo much by the ordinary revenues of the great dominions he poſſeſſes, as by the preſents he receives from the lords, to whom he grants his favours. That prince does not think it below his majeſty to accept acknowledgments from his ſubjects. Nay frequently after their death, he ſeizes on what they had acquired by his favour. It is principally by

by theſe funds that the treaſures of the great mogul are ſwelled; and as he is not permitted to take any thing out of them for his own uſe, ſo he lays up nothing, or very little, of his ordinary revenue amongſt them. Thus it may be ſaid to belong rather to the ſtate, than the prince.

His power is ſo deſpotic, that he has the ſovereign diſpoſal of the lives and effects of his ſubjects. His will is their only law; it decides all law-ſuits, without any perſon's daring to diſpute it on pain of death. At his command alone the greateſt lords are executed; their fiefs, their lands, their poſts and offices are changed or taken from them. The higheſt employments in his kingdom are, that of prime vizier, which anſwers to the firſt miniſter and chancellor of France; that of treaſurer; that of chief of the eunuchs, which reſembles the great maſter of the houſhold; that of firſt ſecretary of ſtate; that of general of the elephants; that of great maſter of the wardrobe, that is to ſay, of the furniture, the tents and precious ſtones, of which the prince commonly makes uſe.

Few days paſs without his appearing at ſunriſing; and the lords of his court are obliged to be then in his apartment, in order to pay him their homages. He ſhews himſelf alſo at midday, to ſee the wild beaſts fight; and at evening he appears at a window, from whence he ſees the ſun ſet. He retires with that ſtar, amidſt the noiſe of a great number of drums and kettle-drums, and the acclamations of his people, wiſhing him a long and a happy life. None are permitted

permitted to enter the palace but the raſgi or princes, and the great officers; who ſhew ſo great veneration for him, that it is impoſſible to approach the moſt ſacred things with more profound reſpect. They accompany all their diſcourſe with continual reverences, they proſtrate themſelves before him at taking leave; they put their hands on their eyes, then on their breaſt, and laſtly on the earth, to teſtify that they are only duſt and aſhes in reſpect of him. They wiſh him all manner of proſperity as they retire, and go backwards till they are out of ſight.

When he marches at the head of his army, or goes out of town a hunting, or to one of his country-houſes, he is accompanied by above ten thouſand men. About one hundred elephants covered with houſings of ſcarlet, velvet, and brocade, march at the head of this little army. Each carries two men, one of whom governs the animal by touching his forehead with an iron hook, the other holding a great banner of ſilk embroidered with gold and ſilver; the firſt eight carry each a kettle-drum. In the middle of this troop, the prince rides, mounted on a fine Perſian horſe, or in a chariot drawn by two white oxen, whoſe large ſpreading horns are adorned with gold. Sometimes he is carried by men in a palanquin; thus he frequently changes his vehicle. The raſgi and officers of his court compoſe his retinue, and have five or ſix hundred elephants, camels, or chariots following them, loaded with baggage.

In

In the royal city two ſolemn feſtivals are celebrated, of which he is the principal object. The firſt (*c*) is held at the beginning of the new year, and laſts about eighteen days. A theatre is erected before the palace, fourteen foot high, fifty-ſix long, and forty broad; it is covered with rich tapeſtry, and ſurrounded by a baluſtrade. Near it is a building of painted wood, embelliſhed with mother of pearl; in this ſome of the principal lords of the court ſeat themſelves, tho' at the ſame time their tents are erected in the firſt court of the palace, where they affect to diſall their riches and ſplendor. Anciently the mogul kings were wont to go into theſe tents, and take whatever they liked beſt. This cuſtom has been changed, and for more than a century paſt, the prince, accompanied by the ſeven firſt play miniſters, aſcends the theatre, where he ſeats himſelf on velvet cuſhions embroidered with gold and pearls, waiting the preſents they come to offer him. He receives them equally from the people and grandees of his empire, during the eighteen days that the ceremony laſts, and towards the end, he diſpenſes amongſt them his bounties, which conſiſt in places and dignities, which he confers on thoſe who have been moſt liberal to him. Tavernier ſays, he ſaw him receive at one of thoſe feaſts, above thirty millions in diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, gold, ſilver, fine ſtuffs, elephants, camels, and horſes.

(*c*) Mandelſlo's voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, p. 140. Bern. hiſt. of the Moguls. Tavern. voyage to the Indies, l. ii. c. 8. deſcribes this feaſt at great length, at which he aſſiſted; as does Thevenot, tom. v. p. 142. &c.

The

The ſecond feſtival is the anniverſary of his birth. He begins that day with all manner of diverſions, which he breaks off to go to the palace of the queen his mother, if ſhe is yet alive; he teſtifies his gratitude to her, and cauſes the grandees of his realm to make her magnificent preſents. After he has dined, he puts on his fineſt robes; he covers himſelf with gold and jewels, and being rather loaded than adorned with ineſtimable riches, he goes into a vaſt and ſuperb tent, where he is waited on by the principal lords of his court. He finds here the great ſcales and the chains which ſuſpend them, both which are of maſſy gold adorned with jewels. He places himſelf in one of the ſcales, the other being filled with gold, ſilver, jewels, pieces of ſtuff, fine linen, pepper, cloves, mace, cinnamon, corn, pulſe, and herbs, and an exact regiſter is kept of the difference of his weight each year. It is matter of great joy when the king weighs more one year than another, and of as great concern, if he is found to have fallen away.

This ceremony is followed by the greateſt act of generoſity which the mogul exhibits during the whole year. It conſiſts in ſome ſmall pieces of money which he gives to the poor, and in throwing among the grandees, nuts, piſtachios, almonds, and other fruits, made of gold; but ſo ſmall, and ſo ſlightly wrought, that a thouſand of them are not worth above ſeven or eight piſtoles. After experiment made, a baſon full of theſe trifles, was found not to exceed ten crowns.

Thus

Thus all the liberality of this powerful monarch on his birth-day, amounts to no more than one hundred crowns. The feſtival concludes with a magnificent ſupper to the lords of his court, with whom he paſſes the night in drinking.

Yet there is not a prince in the univerſe in a condition to ſpend with greater profuſion, or to ſignalize his generoſity more. It is found in the public regiſters, that of the forty kingdoms which compoſe the empire of the great mogul, thoſe of Candahar, Cabul, Guzarate, Caſſimer, Barampour, Dely, Bengal, Agra, Orixa, and a few more, pay him every year one hundred and ſeventy-four millions five hundred thouſand roupies, making about two hundred and ſixty-one millions ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand livres, French money; which ſum is perhaps one third of his revenue.

But theſe immenſe ſums are entirely diſſipated in maintaining his troops, and his houſehold, the expence of which is incredible. His ordinary guard conſiſts of twelve thouſand men, without reckoning the ſix hundred body-guards whereof that company is compoſed, and an equal number of young men who are bought on his account and trained to arms, and are to be continually about his perſon. The expence of his ſeraglio would alone conſume the revenue of a powerful prince. Whatever is moſt rare and exquiſite, whether wild game or fiſh, is ſought out for his table. As he changes the place of his reſidence with the different ſeaſons of the year, and as theſe places are at a great diſtance from one

another, the tranſporting ſuch a number of officers, women, and guards, belonging to his houſehold and his ſtables, occaſions a prodigious expence. Laſtly, he has places furniſhed and maintained in ſeveral cities, where he paſſes ſome months; and every where there is obſerved a ſumptuouſneſs without example. Theſe princes have likewiſe a cuſtom of encamping ſometimes without being at war.

An accurate traveller (*d*), who has laid down a rule to relate nothing but what he has ſeen, informs us, that the palace of Agra is four leagues in circumference, and that it is fortified on all ſides. After having paſſed ſeveral courts and ſtreets, ſeparated by different gates, one comes at laſt to the apartment of the prince, which is in the middle of the building. In the firſt ſaloon is a baluſtrade of ſilver, where are the officers of the guard, who permit none to enter but the great lords of the court. This leads into the chamber of ceremony, where there is another baluſtrade of gold, encloſing the throne of maſſy gold, and enriched with diamonds, pearls, and precious ſtones. None but the king's ſons are allowed to enter into this baluſtrade, or to fan themſelves in order to cool the air, and drive away the flies.

It is true, there are mines of gold and ſilver in the mogul's empire, but theſe furniſh only a very ſmall quantity of that abundance which aſtoniſhes us, and appears almoſt incredible. His richeſt funds proceed from his jewels, cottons,

(*d*) Madelſlo, p. 118.

ſilks,

ſilks, ſtuffs, and cocoas; there is no country in the univerſe where all theſe commodities are in greater plenty. It is from thence that Arabia Felix, Turkey, Perſia, the northern provinces, and Europe, bring all they have occaſion for of this kind; and the trade with all theſe nations, turns entirely to the advantage of the mogul, and his ſubjects. All of them give ſilver, for what is very common there, ſuch as rice, cotton, ſilks and ſtuffs. The Dutch carry thither gold and ſilver, which they get from Japan, Ceylon, China and Europe; other nations trade in the ſame commodities, excepting lead, which the Engliſh furniſh, and ſcarlet with ſome other commodities manufactured in France. The commerce of the Moguls tends only to enrich their country; they carry the proviſions which they cannot conſume, and their ſtuffs, to Pegu, Siam, the iſlands of Ceylon, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and the Philippines; and in return bring back gold, ſilver, cloves, mace, and cinnamon, commodities which are not found in the upper Indoſtan. The paſſion they have for theſe precious metals, have cauſed them to eſtabliſh trade on ſuch a footing, that foreign merchants find much greater advantage in trading by exchange, than by demanding money for thoſe things which the Moguls have occaſion for. It is thus that prince has horſes from Perſia. Laſtly, it is forbidden under ſevere penalties to trade in any other manner, or to carry gold and ſilver coin out of the kingdom. None of it is permitted to be exported but what is worked in brocades and

other

other embroidered ſtuffs; and this only with deſign to draw in a much greater quantity in return.

The prince is the only perſon who receives any advantage, from the exorbitant duties with which he oppreſſes all thoſe who are concerned in commerce, and from the right which he has to ſeize on the effects of his ſubjects before or after their death. And it is perhaps true, that ſpecie is ſcarcer among private perſons in his empire, than amongſt any other civilized people. This may be ſeen by the coins which are in uſe at Indoſtan.

The *peïſes* or *pechas* (*e*), are a ſmall piece of copper not quite two lairds French money in value.

The *mamoudy* is their ſmalleſt piece of ſilver, it is valued at ten ſols and a half; twenty-ſix pechas make a mamoudy.

A *roupie* of ſilver is valued at thirty French ſols.

The *roupie* of gold is only known among the great lords, and is worth fourteen ſilver roupies, or twenty-one livres.

The *theil* of ſilver makes eleven, twelve, or thirteen roupies current money.

The *maſſas* is another piece of which eleven and a half make a *theil* of ſilver; and ten of theſe make a *theil* of gold.

Great ſums in this country are reckoned by

(*e*) Tavernier, voyage to the Indies, c. ii. Du Bois, p. 631. Thevenot, tom. v. p. 571.

eks or *lacs*, by *crouls* or *courous*, by *padans* or by *nils*. But theſe numbers are very little in uſe.

One hundred thouſand *roupies* make a *lek*; one hundred thouſand *leks* a *courou*; one hundred thouſand *courous* a *padan*; and one hundred thouſand *padans* a *nil*.

Specie is ſo ſcarce among the common people, that in many places, even at Surat, a city of great trade, they uſe bitter almonds inſtead of money, ſixty-eight of which make a peiſe. Sometimes ſea-ſhells which are brought from the Maldive iſlands, are uſed inſtead of money; and their price increaſes in proportion to the diſtance from the ſea. Altho' the money is recoined almoſt every year by order of the prince; yet there are a great many debaſers and clippers of the coin in the Indies (*f*), who make conſiderable alterations either in it's weight or alloy, and frequently in both. This abuſe is ſo general, that no large payments are made, but in preſence of one of theſe changers or bankers called *karafes*, whoſe ſhops are at the corners of the principal ſtreets. They have ſo perfect a knowledge of ſilver, that they immediately diſcover if it is adulterated, and for a very ſmall premium will warrant it.

After theſe remarks on the riches of the great mogul, which make him to be juſtly looked upon as the moſt powerful prince in the univerſe, it may be neceſſary to make the reader acquainted with the extent and the principal parts of his empire. It is divided into forty provinces, all which, ex-

(*f*) Tav. voyage to the Indies, c. 2. Mandelſlo, p. 312. Voyages of the Dutch, tom. i. p. 445.

cepting

cepting two, have the title of kingdoms, whoſe names are almoſt conſtantly derived from the capital.

In order to avoid confuſion, we ſhall conſider them, not according to their political, but their geographical order.

There are five on the eaſtern ſide, which are, the kingdoms of Canduana, Udeſſa, Jeſual, Patna, and Mevat.

Five on the ſouth, which are thoſe of Bengal, Orixa, Berar, Candiſch, and Guzarate.

Six on the weſt, which are thoſe of Multan, Hajacan, Buchar, Jeſelmera, Soret, and Tatta.

Nine on the north, which are thoſe of Naugracut, Siba, Pitan, Gor, Kakares, Bankiſch, Cachemire, Attoch, and Cabul.

Fifteen in the middle of the empire, which are thoſe of Chitor, Mavay, Bando, Jenupar, Dely, Agra, Galeor, Narvar, Marcuca, Sambal, Bachar, Jemba, Pegab or Lahor, Rahia-Ranas, and the nation of the Hendowns, a barbarous people.

It is to be remarked, that amongſt that great number of provinces, there are ſome which do not depend entirely on the great mogul, but whoſe inhabitants form ſmall ſeparate ſtates, living under princes whom they call raïas, or under a ſort of republican government. Both the one and the other are vaſſals or tributaries to the great mogul. I ſhall here mention the principal cities of that vaſt empire.

In the kingdom of Canduana, which others call Siba, lying to the weſtward of the Great

Thibet, there is a ſmall province watered by the Ganges, which has a prince of it's own, but a vaſſal of the great mogul, and who commonly reſides in the city of Canduana. That of Sirinager is not far diſtant from it.

Udeſſa, Patna, Jeſual and Mevat, have nothing remarkable but the mildneſs of the climate, the excellence of their fruits, and the fertility of the country.

Bengal is very well known by it's name, which it gives to the greateſt gulph of Aſia, which ſeparates the two peninſulas of the Indies. This kingdom is near two hundred and fifty leagues from eaſt to weſt; it is looked (*g*) upon as the moſt fertile of all the Indies in ſugar, ſilk, fruits, ſalt-petre, gum-lac, wax, civet, opium, pepper, and rice, with all which commodities it furniſhes the moſt diſtant provinces. This country is cut thro' by numerous canals, which ſerve to water it, and to facilitate the tranſporting of mercantile goods; their banks are covered with towns and villages extremely well peopled, and great fields of rice, ſugar and wheat, much larger than that of Europe, three or four kinds of pulſe, muſtard, citrons, oranges, and a great quantity of ſmall mulberry-trees for the nouriſhment of ſilk-worms. It is chiefly in this country that the rhinoceros and muſk are to be found.

The fineſt canes which are brought into Europe, come from this kingdom. A ſmall ſort of canes grows here, much more ſupple than oſiers, which the inhabitants work into veſſels; thoſe

(*g*) Mandelſlo, p. 290, & ſeq. Thevenot, tom. v. p. 201, & ſeq.

they

they glaze over with lac within, which thus contain all kind of liquors as ſecurely as glaſs or ſilver. An herb is likewiſe gathered in this country, which ſends up firſt a pretty high ſtem of the thickneſs of one's finger, afterwards leaves, and on the top of all, a large bud like a tuft. The Indians ſpin it, and make it into tapeſtry, coverings, and very beautiful ſtuffs, upon which they repreſent all kinds of figures.

Ougli (*b*) upon the weſtern bank of the Ganges, and about twenty leagues from the ſea, has become very famous ſince the Hollanders have eſtabliſhed themſelves there. Next to Batavia, this is their greateſt factory, and the place where their trade is moſt conſiderable. The French company has likewiſe a factory there. They bring from thence, according to one of our lateſt travellers (*i*), ſeveral ſorts of malles-molles, of caſſes, which we call double muſlins; of doreas, which are ſtriped muſlins; of tangebs, that is, thick muſlins; and of amans, or very fine cotton-ſtuffs; but not ſo beautiful as the ſanas which come from Ballaſord; pieces for handkerchiefs of ſilk and cotton, and other ſtuffs of the ſame kind. From Daca, on the moſt weſtern mouth of the ſame river, come the beſt and fineſt Indian embroideries in gold, ſilver, or ſilk, and thoſe embroidered neck-cloths, and fine muſlins, which are ſeen in France. Chatigan in the ſame country, a little farther towards the ſouth, is likewiſe a town of great trade. Chandernagor and Chin-

(*b*) See Lullier, p. 50.
(*i*) Lullier's voyage to the Great Indies, p. 57.

cora in the neighbourhood of Ougli, are ſtill famous for their commerce, and moſt of the European nations have factories eſtabliſhed there (*k*). Soumelpour to the north of that kingdom, is not leſs important on account of it's mine of diamonds (*l*) which are found in it's neighbourhood. This mine is not like moſt others in the boſom of the earth, but in the ſand of the river Gouel, which they ſearch carefully after the month of February, when the waters are low. They begin their ſearch at the town of Soumelpour, and carry it up to the mountains, whence the Gouel has it's ſource; a ſpace of about fifty leagues. There are commonly eight or ten thouſand perſons employed in that work. It is from thence thoſe fine ſparks of diamonds come, called *genuine ſparks*. But ſtones above a certain bigneſs are ſeldom found.

The ſouthern boundaries of the empire of the great mogul, extend from the mouths of the Ganges to thoſe of the Indus, or Sinde, as the people of the country now call it, and run along the tropic of Cancer. The province of Orixa (*m*), which bounds it on the weſt, and that of Bengal it's boundary on the ſouth, have frequently been the occaſion of war between the great mogul and the king of Golconda. The firſt is now it's ſovereign, altho' he leaves it under the government of a raïa. It's capital, which bears the name

(*k*) Idem, ibidem, p. 47, &c.
(*l*) Tavernier's voyage to the Indies.
(*m*) Maffey, hiſt. Indica. Mandelſlo, p. 289. Du Bois, p. 648. Thevenot, p. 212.

of

of Bengal, is a large city built upon a mountain, where they carry on a trade in diamonds and jewels. There is a church there dedicated to St. Thomas, and a fine palace built by the kings of Golconda. It's principal cities are Mantipour on the Ganges, and Jagarnat on the ſea ſide. In the latter is a famous temple of idols, the firſt of which repreſents the god Reſora, and the three others, his wife, his brother, and his ſiſter. The ſtatue of Reſora is entirely of gold and jewels, that of his wife of gold without any ornaments, and the two others of ſandal wood. This temple has revenues for the maintenance of twenty thouſand men.

The kingdoms of Berar and Candiſch are remarkable on account of ſome mines of gold, and of precious ſtones which are found in them.

A peninſula which lies at the bottom of the mouths of the Indus, contains the greateſt part of the kingdom of Guzarate, where there are immenſe riches. There is not a more fertile province in all the Indies (*n*). It produces fruits and proviſions in ſuch abundance, that it furniſhes the neighbouring provinces with them. Cambay, ſtanding on the point of the eaſtern gulph which bears the ſame name, is a very fine, large, and agreeable city; it's ſtreets are ſpacious, handſome, and ſtreight. Altho' it is at leaſt two leagues in circumference, yet it is entirely built of hewn ſtone, and has twelve gates which are ſhut in the night-time. Without it's walls there

(*n*) Mandelſlo, p. 55, 101. Tavern. voyage to the Indies, c. 5. Theven. p. 95.

are very large ſuburbs, and fifteen or ſixteen public gardens ſurrounded with walls, and which are kept in great order. But the trade of this city is inconſiderable, becauſe it has no harbour which large veſſels can enter; yet the Dutch and Engliſh have factories here.

Superſtition is more prevalent among thoſe inhabitants than in any other place of the Indies. Being ſtrict obſervers of the ancient dogma of the metempſychoſis, they conſtantly maintain three hoſpitals *(o)*, one for birds, another for goats, and a third for black cattle. The zealots lay food for them of different kinds upon the high-ways, and in the fields. They have a reverence for all inſects, however ſmall and hideous they may be. The benjans carry in their girdles inſtruments with which they bruſh the places where they ſit down, or where they walk, leſt they ſhould cruſh in pieces the ants, or other reptiles that may be found there. Some of theſe idolaters hold the chriſtians and mahometans in abhorrence, becauſe they ſee them feed on the fleſh of animals; and ſome carry their ſcruples and weakneſs ſo far as to eat nothing that is red, for fear there ſhould be blood in it. By the force of money they have obtained from the great mogul the ſingular privilege, that no calf, ox, or cow, ſhall be killed in their city; and if a chriſtian, or mahometan, ſhould be found tranſgreſſing this prohibition, his life would be in danger. Theſe pagans have in this city one of the moſt magnificent temples in the kingdom,

(o) Du Bois, p. 635.

full

full of idols of all ſizes, and for the moſt part of monſtrous figures *(p)*.

The people of Amadabat, in the ſame kingdom, and almoſt under the tropic, are no leſs barbarous in their worſhip. Their prieſts, called *joghis*, have nothing but a ſcarf round their middle, which covers what ſhame and decency require ſhould be concealed. They paint their foreheads with ſeveral colours, with thoſe of ſandal ſaffron, and other drugs. They live with great auſterity, and in a voluntary poverty, employing themſelves in contemplation like the ancient brachmans, whom they have improved upon by the invention of new ſuperſtitions. The Engliſh have in this city a factory for commerce.

People of all nations, and all kinds of mercantile goods throughout Aſia, are to be found at Amadabat *(q)*. Brocades of gold and ſilver, carpets with flowers of gold, tho' not ſo good as the Perſian, velvets, ſatins, and taffeties of all colours, ſtuffs of ſilk, linen and cotton, and calicoes, are all manufactured here. The other merchandizes which have the greateſt ſale in this place are, candied ſugar, caſſia, cumin, honey, lac, opium, borax, ginger, and myrobalans, a ſmall fruit uſed in pharmacy of the ſize of a prune, ſal armoniac, and indigo, in the country language called *anil*, and which grows here in great quantities. The privilege of this town, by

(*p*) Mandelſlo, p. 77.
(*q*) Mandelſlo, ibid. Dutch collection, t. vi. p. 395.

which

which they are exempted from all duties either for the entry or exportation of goods, is the chief cauſe of it's univerſal and extenſive commerce. Strangers are allowed to buy and ſell all ſorts of commodities, excepting ſuch as are contraband, as gun-powder, lead, and ſalt-petre, trading in which is prohibited; but a permiſſion is eaſily obtained from the governor for a ſmall acknowledgment.

The territory and dependencies of Amadabat comprehend twenty-five large towns, and near three thouſand villages, which produce a revenue of about twenty millions. The governor pays a great part of it to the mogul: he maintains by order of that prince a numerous body of troops, as well to ſend to his aſſiſtance in time of war, as to keep the robbers and highwaymen in awe; but it frequently happens that he protects them ſecretly, and ſhares in their booty. The ſepulchral monuments which are ſeen about this city, are matter of curioſity to travellers, and the admirable gardens which ſurround it in great numbers, are an agreeable amuſement to them during their ſtay here; and that pleaſure continues after their departure, as they travel along roads laid out in a ſtreight line, and planted with a double row of cocoa trees, which afford a ſhade and covering in all ſeaſons. Yet it muſt be owned, they do not come near that which goes from Agra to Brampour, and makes but one avenue of one hundred and fifty German leagues in length.

The

The beſt indigo in the world, according to Mandelſlo, comes from a village called Chirchées, near Amadabat. The herb of which it is made reſembles the ſhoots of the yellow carrot, but is bitter and ſhorter, ſending forth branches like the bramble, and growing in good years to the height of ſix or ſeven feet. It's flower reſembles that of the thiſtle, and it's ſeed is like that of muſtard. It is ſown in the month of June, and the plants are cut in the months of November or December. It is ſown only once in three years, and the firſt year the plant is cut within a foot of the ground. The wood, or ſtalk of the plant which has been cut, is thrown away, and the leaves are ſet to dry in the ſun; after that they are ſteeped four or five days in a ſtone trough, containing ſix or ſeven feet depth of water, which is ſtirred about from time to time, till the water has imbibed the colour, and the virtue of the herb; then the water is run out into another trough, where it is left to ſettle for one night; next day all the water is drawn out of the trough, and what remains at the bottom, is ſtrained thro' a coarſe linen cloth, and afterwards dried in the ſun; this is the beſt indigo.

The herb ſhoots up the ſecond year from the ſtalks that have been left in the field, but is not ſo good as the firſt. Notwithſtanding they prefer it to *gyngey*, which is the wild indigo, and on this account, the ſecond year they let ſome of it run to ſeed in order to gather it. That of the third year is not good, and thus not being ſought after by

by the foreign merchants, the inhabitants uſe it in dying their ſtuffs.

The colour of the firſt indigo approaches to the violet, and ſmells like the flower of that name when it is burnt. The people of Indoſtan call it *anil*, and let the ground reſt a year before they ſow it again.

There is another kind of indigo, if the deſcription which Tavernier gives of it may be credited. It is, ſays he, an herb which they ſow every year after the rains are over, and which is very like the male hemp. It's flower is like that of the artichoke, and it's ſeed ſomewhat like that of fennel. It grows like broom, having roots like that, long and ſtreight; the leaf is larger, approaching to that of ſenna. It's ſtalk is three foot high, of the thickneſs of a man's thumb; and is cut three times in a year.

The indigo of St. Domingo in America, from whence comes almoſt all that is uſed in France, is alſo different from the two firſt. It is a ſhrub of three or four feet in height when ſuffered to grow, which throws out from it's root ſeveral woody and knotty ſtalks. Theſe ſend out little branches of the ſame nature; and at every one of theſe knots, there comes out a ſhoot about two or three inches long, furniſhed through all it's length with four or five pairs of leaves, terminating in one. Theſe leaves are oval and pointed, about nine or ten twelfths of an inch in length, and near half an inch in breadth. They are joined together, pretty thick, of a beautiful enough green, but of a diſagreeable taſte

taſte and ſmell. There ariſes in the pits of theſe leafy ſhoots, a ſmall branch about two inches in length, and ſet round in the ſhape of a pyramid with ſeveral ſmall purple flowers, very like thoſe of our broom. The peſtle of each flower becomes afterwards crooked, is about an inch in length, is as it were knotty and divided into ſeveral cells, in which there is a pale and cylindrical ſeed. Several of theſe ſeeds are thrown together in little ditches laid out by a line, during the rainy ſeaſon, and the plant is cut when it arrives to a certain height before it flowers. The manner of preparing the paſte of which the colour is made, is nearly the ſame as in Amadabat; that is to ſay, by ſteeping the leaves in water during ſome days, ſtirring it about, then ſtraining and drying it.

Thirty-five leagues to the ſouth of Cambaya, and about fifty from Amadabat, ſtands the famous city of Surat, one of the beſt, the fineſt, and richeſt and greateſt marts, not only of the mogul's country, but of all the Indies. It is ſituated about four leagues from the ſea, to the ſouth of the river Tapta, which ſerves it for a harbour, where veſſels of a moderate bulk may come up by favour of the tide. Thoſe that are larger unload two leagues farther in the ſea, at the village of Suhall, from whence they carry the goods by land.

Surat was one of the firſt objects of European ambition. The Portugueze eſtabliſhed themſelves there by force of arms almoſt as ſoon as they

they were acquainted with it's advantages (r), which was before the year 1530. The Engliſh followed them in 1609; the Dutch in 1616, and the French in 1665. All of them have contributed to embelliſh a city, which already paſſed for the moſt ſplendid of all the country. They built there hotels and magnificent lodges. (It is thus that they call thoſe buildings which ſerve them as dwelling houſes and magazines, when the chief or intendant of the commerce does not reſide there.) Part of the ſtreets is paved with porcelain, and ſome houſes are fronted with it, and with ſo much art that it is really admirable. Their houſes are flat on the top, after the manner of the ancient Hebrews, the Romans, and the modern Perſians. The rich vie with one another in their decorations. The furniture of their apartments is ſuperb, and their magnificence is ſeen even in the umbrellas of their windows. They conſiſt of ſeveral rows of ſmall planks joined together obliquely over the windows, and inlaid with mother of pearl, and the ſhells of tortoiſes, crocodiles, and other fiſhes. Thus they keep off the heat of the ſun, which is extreme in the torrid zone where they are ſituated; and by weakening the light they render it more agreeable by that mixture of colours which is reflected by it's rays.

The happy ſituation of this city has cauſed it

(r) Dellon, voyage to the Indies. Mandelſlo, p. 59. Dictionary of commerce. Heſikius ad Cluv. Du Bois, Geogr. p. 636. Lullier on commerce, p. 179, and 184. Dutch collection, t. vi. p. 397, Thev. p. 44, 78, & ſeq.

to

to flouriſh in trade at all times. Some believe it might be the ancient *Saraſtra* or *Barigaſa*. It is here that the Indians conſtantly embark to go and trade on the coaſts of Perſia, Arabia, Egypt, and Africa, even to the cape of Good-Hope, and in the iſland of Madagaſcar. Some of them ſail to the eaſt, in order to buy nutmegs in the peninſula of Malacca beyond the Ganges, cloves in the iſland of Celebes, cinnamon in Ceylon, pearls at cape Comorin, and muſk at Bengal and Cochinchina. The people of theſe different places likewiſe carry thither whatever they have rare and valuable amongſt them, in order to exchange it for thoſe manufactures which the ingenuity of the Indians occaſions to be held in requeſt among all nations. At Surat are to be had the fineſt Indian brocades, the richeſt ſilk ſtuffs of all kinds, calicoes and muſlins without number, porcelains, cabinets, cheſts and other manufacturies of that nature, in which are uſed gold, ſilver and mother of pearl, ebony and ivory. They have ſmiths who work in gold and ſilver; they likewiſe cut diamonds and ſet them with a ſkill and an addreſs which are admirable. They have immenſe magazines of ſilk *(s)*, ſpiceries, colours, and medicinal drugs. That great confluence of people and riches has made Surat at preſent the moſt flouriſhing city, and of the greateſt wealth and trade in all the Indies.

It likewiſe pays a yearly tribute to the mogul of ſeveral millions; which drains the people and

(s) Tavernier gives a liſt of them, l. ii. p. 373.

reduces them to the greateſt miſery. They have ſcarce enough left to live upon and procure them a habitation. The dwelling-places of theſe unfortunate ſlaves reſemble rather barns (*t*) than houſes; being built of nothing but reeds, plaiſtered over with the dung of black cattle ſteep'd in mud, in order to prevent thoſe who are without from ſeeing between the reeds what paſſes within. The governor of the city is even more oppreſſive than the prince himſelf. Since his office has become fixt and venal, he ſeems to be at full liberty to indemnify himſelf from the inhabitants for the price at which he has bought it. He has all the authority of the mogul, and ſo abſolute a power over them, that he may put to death and deprive of their poſſeſſions whomſoever he pleaſes. The rich men in the country (*u*) have no travelling coaches. Their carriage is a chariot, adorned with a little baluſtrade a foot and an half high, which is ſupported on four upright bars of iron ſomewhat higher than the wheels, and fixed to the two extremities of the axle tree, without either ſprings or braces, and only laid between the wheels. Inſtead of harneſſing horſes to them, they make uſe of oxen which are trained for that purpoſe, and fed with a paſte compounded of meal, ſugar, and a mixture of ſeveral kinds of ſpices. The care they take of them renders them prodigiouſly fat, and almoſt as large as elephants. Some pairs of

(*t*) Tavernier, voyage to the Indies, c. i.
(*u*) Mandelſlo, p. 57, and 198. Du Bois, p. 636. Tavern. c. 11.

them

them have coſt a thouſand crowns. Theſe carriages are called *pallekis*; and thoſe which footmen, inſtead of oxen, carry on their ſhoulders, are called *palanquins*.

The kingdoms which follow that of Guzarate, and which bound the mogul's empire towards the weſt, have not the ſame trade, neither are they ſo rich or fertile. They comprehend all that country which the Greeks conquered under the enſigns of Alexander the great. The Indus in it's courſe divides it from north to ſouth. But it muſt be remarked, that ſince the invaſion of the Tartars, every thing has changed it's face, the religion, the government, the names of the countries and rivers. Before their time, the religion of the Greeks, which their colonies had introduced, was received almoſt every where, except in thoſe places which the Brachmans were poſſeſſed of; at preſent all are idolaters, mahometans, or pythagoreans, that is, believers in the metempſychoſis. It is certain, that the Chriſtian faith had been preached there and received by many, even with fervor; but ſcarce the ſmalleſt traces of the goſpel are now to be found. Since the time of Porus a great number of kings have reigned in peace and glory on the thrones of their anceſtors, altho' they depended in ſome meaſure on a ſuperior monarch, who ſeemed rather to protect them, than to make them feel the yoke of his dominion. But the mogul has robbed them of every thing; and the higher any perſon is exalted, the more is he

expoſed to his avarice, his jealouſy, and his reſentment. Finally, the kingdom of the Taxiles, of Porus and others, are utterly forgot; in their ſtead they have ſubſtituted the barbarous names of *Camboul*, *Hajacan*, *Moultan*, *Bouckor*, *Tata*, and *Soret*. Excepting the Indus, which they call *Sinde*, the rivers are no more to be known than the countries. The Choës is now called Cow or Behat; the Evaſpla, Nilab; the Hydaſpes, Chantrou; the Aceſine, Ravi; the Hydraotes, Van or Via; and the Hyphaſis, Chaul or Sietmege.

Alexander not having carried his conqueſts farther than the Hyphaſis, the Greeks, and after them the Romans, had but a very confuſed notion of the provinces beyond that river. Within this age they have been much frequented by thoſe whom intereſt or curioſity have placed above the fatigue and dangers of ſo long a voyage. Some (*x*) have traced their route in as exact a detail as could be done from Paris to any other city in France. In the ſpace of about two hundred and fifty leagues of north latitude, and above three hundred leagues of longitude, which comprehends the nine northern kingdoms, and the fifteen in the middle of the mogul's empire, a great many cities might be named, and particular anecdotes of them related. But we ſhall confine ourſelves to ſome of the principal ones.

Cachemire, which gives it's name to the kingdom where it ſtands, is ſituated in the northern

(*x*) Mandelſlo. Tavern.

part

part of Indoſtan, at the bottom of that famous chain of mountains which are commonly called Paropamiſia, from whence the Indus takes it's ſource. This is a large city, but without any beauty (*y*), being built entirely of wood, open on all ſides, and about three quarters of a league in length. At the ſouth ſide is a large lake four or five leagues in circumference, which diſcharges itſelf by two navigable canals into a river which runs through the city, and over which there are two bridges. On ſome iſlands which nature has formed in that lake, the Cachemirians have made excellent gardens, ſome of which are publick. They have others about the city, and the people are ſo dexterous at that kind of agriculture, that the Indians have given this country the name of the *terreſtrial paradiſe*. Their addreſs in theſe affairs, has inſpired the mogul emperors for above an age ago, with the deſire to paſs every year part of the fine ſeaſon there, in order to enjoy the pleaſures of Cachemire. His palace is the temple of magnificence, and his gardens are perfectly delightful. One of the mogul emperors has been heard to ſay, that he would rather loſe all his kingdom than be deprived of Cachemire.

Some veſtiges of ancient tradition ſhew, that ſome time or other the Jews have been eſtabliſhed in this kingdom. All the inhabitants have the air of Jews, and ſomething in their

(y) Tavern. hiſtory of the great mogul, t. iv. Thev. p. 173, & ſeq.

manners ſhews that they are deſcended from that people. There is ſtill ſtanding a moſque with a very ancient building, which they call *Tact-Soliman*, or in the language of the country, *the temple of Solomon*. The name of *Mouſa*, which amongſt them means Moſes, is much uſed there; and they pretend, that the tomb of that prophet and law-giver lies about a league from the city. It is not neceſſary to take notice that this tradition is a pure fable in the Jewiſh taſte, which they have invented and ſpread thro' the country. The people of this province have the character of being more ingenious and acute, and better qualified for poetry and the ſciences, than the other Indians. They are as well made as the handſomeſt Europeans, and their women are very beautiful; and it is from hence that the people of the ſouth, who go to eſtabliſh themſelves at the great mogul's court, take their wives, that they may have whiter children than the ordinary Indians, and that they may paſs for natural moguls.

Atok, *Raja*, *Moultan*, *Jengapor* and ſome other cities ſituated (z) near the different rivers that run into the Sinde, are no more than a confuſed irregular maſs of houſes, moſt part of them as mean and ill-built as thoſe of our villages in France, altho' the emperor has palaces in them. The inhabitants notwithſtanding have every thing that is neceſſary for life, and carry on a very conſiderable trade in elephants, ſheep, and other cattle. Caboul is the principal market

(z) Tavern. du Bois. Maty. Baudran.

for the Perſians and Tartars in this trade; and it is reckoned, that every year above ſixty thouſand horſes are ſold there. Wine and proviſions are alſo ſold at a very low price.

There are in this country a people called Augans (*a*), very robuſt, and great robbers by night, who make uſe of a ſingular remedy to prolong their days. It is a cuſtom almoſt among all the Indians to rub their tongues, when they riſe in the morning, with a certain root, which makes them vomit plentifully. Thoſe who inhabit the frontiers of Perſia, do not vomit much in the morning; but when they ſit down to meat, no ſooner have they ſwallowed two or three morſels, than they are forced to go out and throw up, and then they return to eat with great appetite. If they did not take that precaution, they could not live thirty years, and would become hydropical.

The reſidence of the emperor at Dely has made it one of the principal cities of Indoſtan. It is ſituated on the river Gemenè, which divides it into two cities. The firſt has preſerved the name of the ancient Dely (*b*), and is now nothing but a ſuburb. The ſecond is called *Gehan-Abad*, that is to ſay, the *colony of Gehan*; becauſe that emperor, grandfather of him who is at preſent on the throne, built it in 1625, to make it the capital of his empire, and his ordinary reſidence. In this laſt, all the houſes are large enclоſures, in the middle of which

(*a*) Tavern. c. 6. p. 78.
(*b*) Mandelſlo. Bernier. Tavern. Du Bois. Theven.

they lodge, to prevent any from approaching the places where their women are ſhut up. The moſt part of the great men do not reſide in the city, but have their houſes without, on account of the conveniency of the waters. The entrance into Gehan-Abad, on the ſide of Dely, is by a long ſtreet, on each ſide of which there are regular arches, and under them the merchants have their ſhops.

That ſtreet leads to the palace, which is a large half league in circuit. The wall is built of hewn ſtone, with battlements; and at every tenth battlement there is a tower; the ditches are full of water, and faced with hewn ſtone. The grand portal has nothing extraordinary about it, as little has the firſt court, into which the great lords may enter on their elephants. This leads to a large and a long paſſage, adorned with fine porticos, under which there are many little chambers, into which a part of the horſe guards retire. On each ſide are the women's apartment, and the great halls where juſtice is adminiſter'd. In the middle of the paſſage, is a canal full of water, which at equal diſtances, is formed into little baſons. From thence a paſſage leads to the ſecond court, where the omrhas, that is, the grandees of the kingdom, mount guard in perſon. They have their quarters there, and their horſes are tied up before the gates.

Entering into the third court, the divan, where the king gives audience, appears facing it. It is a hall to which one aſcends by ſeven

or

or eight ſteps, and it is open on three ſides. Two and thirty marble columns ſuſtain as many arches; and theſe columns are about four feet ſquare with their baſe and mouldings. When the emperor Cha-Jehan cauſed that hall to be built, he ordered that it ſhould be all enriched with the fineſt work of inlaid jewels, like the great duke's chapel in Italy. But when they had made the trial on ſome columns, to the height of two or three feet, they ſaw it would be impoſſible to find a number of jewels ſufficient to execute ſuch a grand deſign, and that the expence would amount to immenſe ſums. They were therefore obliged to abandon that project, and to be contented with painting it with different flowers.

In the middle of this hall, oppoſite to the wall which looks into the court, there is a kind of alcove, upon which the throne where the king gives audience is erected. It is, after the manner of the ancient orientals, a ſmall bed with three feet, and it's magnificence could not be believed, were it not atteſted by the moſt credible witneſſes. This bed is adorned with four columns, a canopy, a head-board, a bolſter and a counterpane. It would ſeem as if Cha-Jehan, who cauſed it to be made, had reſolved to exhauſt upon it all the riches of his kingdom. It is valued at near two hundred millions of livres. It ſhines with gold, ſilver, emeralds, diamonds and rubies, which have been diffuſed over it with great profuſion. The canopy is ſo loaded with them, that the

eyes of the beholders are dazzled; gold and pearls compoſe its fringe. The columns which ſupport it are equally covered with them. The furniture of the bed, with the coverlet which the prince has over him, are embroidered with gold and pearls, and the feet on which the bed ſtands, are no leſs adorned than the columns. To every one of theſe laſt are fixed the king's arms, his buckler, ſword, bow, quiver, arrows, and other things of that nature.

Not far from the hall of the divan are the great ſtables, about which there are many things very remarkable. They are always full of the fineſt horſes (*c*), in which the mogul takes great delight, and which he buys up in Arabia, Turkey, Perſia, and among the Uſbecks. It is ſaid, that the worſt of them coſts three thouſand crowns, and that there are not leſs than ten thouſand of them, which does not ſeem credible. Before every ſtable door there is hung a kind of mat made of bamboos or reeds, which are divided by twigs much thinner than oſier; they are bound together with twiſted ſilk reſembling flowers, the working of which requires a great deal of art and patience. Thoſe mats are intended to prevent the flies from entering. But they are not ſatisfied with this precaution. Every horſe has two grooms, who relieve one another and fan him continually. All the day they have carpets over them, and at night they put below them a litter made of their own dung, dried in

(*c*) Tavern. c. 6. p. 86.

the

the ſun and well pounded together. Their food is no leſs extraordinary. They give them every morning two or three balls, compounded of wheat and beer, of the bigneſs of a penny-loaf. Foreign horſes are not accuſtomed to this kind of food without a great deal of trouble, and frequently the groom muſt hold his tongue with one hand, and with the other thruſt the paſte down his throat. In the ſeaſon of ſugar-canes and millet, they have theſe given them at mid-day; and at evening they have a meaſure of peaſe ground between two ſtones and ſteep'd in water. They never taſte hay nor oats.

Agra is the only city of Indoſtan which can be compared with Gehan-Abad. The prince reſides in both theſe cities by turns; each of them have a palace within their walls: In Agra his treaſure is kept; but within this century the mogul princes take up their reſidence oftener at Gehan-Abad. The moſques, the pagods, and the magnificent tombs which abound in this city, ſhew it to have been one of the moſt flouriſhing places in the Indies. In 1638 (*d*), they reckoned in it ſeventy great moſques, amongſt which ſix were principal ones, where the mahometans offered up their devotions on feſtival days. In one of the laſt is the ſepulchre of one of their ſaints, thirty feet in length and ſixteen in breadth. The Indians ſay he was a giant, and the greateſt

(*d*) Mandelſlo, p. 115. Thevenot has enlarged much on this city, p. 98, & ſeq.

warrior

warrior their nation ever produced. They make frequent and numerous pilgrimages to it, their offerings on theſe occaſions amounting to prodigious ſums, which ſerve to feed every day a vaſt number of poor. Theſe moſques and their courts are an azylum for criminals, and even for thoſe who are threaten'd with priſon by their creditors. The great mogul, however powerful he may be, dares not ſo much as attempt to take a criminal from thence, for fear of violating that reſpect with which his religion inſpires him for thoſe who are honoured with the title of ſaints. The wife of the emperor Cha-Jehan thought to render her memory illuſtrious, and to merit the veneration of after-ages by the mauſoleum which ſhe cauſed to be erected near the walls of Agra. There is nothing that comes near it in magnificence (*e*). It was two and twenty years in building, though twenty thouſand men were inceſſantly employed about it. There are in Agra near eight hundred baths or ſtoves (*f*), from whence the mogul draws every year very conſiderable ſums; becauſe that kind of purification being one of the principal points of the mahometan worſhip, there does not paſs a day but thoſe places are frequented by an infinite number of people.

(*e*) Tavern. c. 7. p. 93.
(*f*) Mandelſlo. p. 116.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Of the Peninſula within the Ganges.

THE peninſula within the Ganges is a vaſt country, and pretty nearly the figure of a cone reverſed. It is waſhed, towards the eaſt, ſouth and weſt, by the waters of the ocean; the country of the great mogul bounds it on the north. It lies in the torrid zone, between ſeven degrees thirty minutes and twenty one degrees of north latitude, which makes it in length, from north to ſouth, two hundred and ſeventy leagues. Its outmoſt point is called cape Comorin. It extends from eaſt to weſt, between the 89th and the 105th degrees of longitude, which gives it 320 leagues for it's greateſt breadth. The exceſſive heats which reign in this country, renders the colour of the inhabitants much darker than that of thoſe who live in Indoſtan; but with reſpect to fertility and riches, both countries are nearly the ſame. Only this laſt is more celebrated for it's numerous harbours, and the immenſe commerce of the European nations.

It is divided into two parts (*g*), by the different regions which border on the ſea. The firſt extends from Daman about twenty-five or thirty leagues from Surat, to cape Comorin, and is called the coaſt of Malabar. The ſecond

(*g*) Tavern. chap. 7. Du Bois, de l' Iſle.

begins

begins at that cape, ending at the kingdom of Orixa; this is the coaſt of Coromandel.

The coaſt of Malabar contains the ancient kingdom of Decan, now Cungan or Viſapour; that of Carnate or Canara, and that of Malabar.

Viſapour is the capital of the kingdom which bears it's name. It is a large city ſurrounded with high walls, where they pretend there are above a thouſand pieces of cannon, braſs and iron, of all bores. Without the walls, which are two leagues in circuit, there are five ſpacious ſuburbs, which give it a circumference of five leagues, as ſeveral travellers mention. The houſes are built of nothing but ſtraw and reeds, and the doors ſo little that one muſt ſtoop to enter by them; they have no furniture but a mat, which ſerves for a bed, and a hole in the ground where the rice is kept which is uſed in the family. In the middle of the city ſtands the king's palace, ſurrounded with walls and ditches; but whoſe inſide is as ſimple as thoſe of the great mogul's palaces are ſumptuous and magnificent. Formerly the kings of Viſapour were free and independent, at leaſt ſince the extirpation of thoſe of Telenga; but the emperor Aurengezebe carried on ſuch a violent war againſt the reigning prince, that he obliged him to acknowledge himſelf his vaſſal and tributary in 1690. Both profeſs the mahometan religion according to the ſect of Omar.

The people, the firſt victims of their prince's misfortunes, can hardly acquire by continual labour

labour ſufficient to pay the different ſubſidies with which they are oppreſſed, under pretence of the tribute which muſt every year be ſent to the mogul. It is very difficult to find a few perſons moderately rich in all the kingdom of Viſapour. Of the inhabitants of the capital, ſome are goldſmiths, others work in braſs, wood, cottons, or ſilks which they ſend abroad to foreigners, or ſell to thoſe who come thither to buy of them; others trade in diamonds, pearls, or lace; and tho' they ſell their goods very dear, ſcarce one acquires a fortune. Pepper is the only thing whoſe plenty keeps it cheap. The Dutch get conſiderable quantities from this city and the country about (*b*). They buy it at ſeven or eight crowns the quintal, and pay for it in ſtuffs, iron ware, and other European merchandiſes.

Along the ſea-ſide from Surat to Goa, there are many maritime places which no longer belong to the Indians. The Portugueze have taken poſſeſſion of Daman, a city pretty well built for that country, ſurrounded with walls, and defended by fortifications, whoſe juriſdiction extends over a great many villages round it. The jeſuits, dominicans, cordeliers, and auguſtins, have houſes there.

Baſſaim, or Bombay, belongs to the Engliſh, who have fortified and beautified it, ſince they have eſtabliſhed a factory there for their commerce.

(*b*) Mandelſlo, p. 223, & 231.

Chaul,

Çhaul, or Chiul, of which the Portugueze are maſters, is as it were concealed behind the mountains, with a ſpacious harbour, where ſhips anchor in ſafety. The hill which commands the port is defended by a good citadel.

Mingrala, or Vingrela, is a large village, where the Dutch, in their expedition againſt Goa, furniſhed themſelves with proviſions, which they ſtill do when they ſend ſhips to different parts of the Indies; for the water there is excellent, and the rice perfectly good. Likewiſe all ſhips that go from the eaſt to Surat, Ormus, and the Red-ſea, commonly anchor in the road of Mingrala for the ſame reaſon. Altho' the Dutch are in poſſeſſion of it, yet nothing is manufactured there but a kind of coarſe ſtuff uſed in the package of merchant goods.

Theſe places of little importance ſerve only to raiſe the name, riches, and magnificence of Goa, as well known amongſt us as any city in France can well be. It is ſituated in the middle of the coaſt of Malabar (*i*), almoſt at an equal diſtance from Surat and cape Comorin, in an iſland which is ſeven leagues round called Salſette, formed by the rivers Mandoa and Quari, about two or three leagues from the bank, where they loſe themſelves in the ſea, after being united. In the time of the great heats the water is ſometimes ſo low, that it is ſcarce two feet deep.

(*i*) Tavern. c. 7. Mandelſlo, p. 246. Du Bois, p. 640. This city, and the manners of it's inhabitants, are deſcribed at length in the third volume of the Dutch voyages, p. 636, and tom. 6. p. 424. Thevenot, p. 376.

At

At other times the paſſage is ſo commodious, that the largeſt veſſels ſail in it with eaſe, and arrive even at the harbour of Goa, where they have nothing more to fear. It is reckoned, with thoſe of Conſtantinople and Toulon, one of the three fineſt harbours in the world.

It's ſituation and other advantages incited the Portugueze to ſeize it, as they had already done by force of arms ſeveral places on the coaſts of Africa, Perſia, and the Indies. Alphonſo duke of Albuquerque and admiral to Emanuel the great king of Portugal (*l*), took it by ſurprize and compoſition the 16th of February 1510. Zabaïm Dalcam, prince of the iſland, made generous efforts to recover the inheritance of his fathers, from which theſe ſtrangers had excluded him. He implored the aſſiſtance of the princes his neighbours; he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of an army of fifty thouſand infantry and ſix thouſand cavalry, with which he drove the Portugueze out of his iſland, the 30th of May in the ſame year. Albuquerque not enduring that his conqueſt ſhould be raviſhed from him, took advantage of a fleet which arrived from Portugal. He fell ſuddenly upon the king of Goa; he cut his troops in pieces, and drove himſelf from the city, ſix months and ten days after he had re-entered it: this was on the 21ſt of November.

Adelham Schach king of Decan or Cungan, looked upon it as an affront to his nation, to

(*l*) Mandelſlo, 246. Maffey relates this conqueſt at great length, hiſt. des Indes, l. iv. cap. 7.

leave

leave ſo important a city in the hands of a colony, whoſe reſources were at ſuch a diſtance. He gathered together his forces and artillery, which are ſaid to have been very conſiderable; and he took the place from the Portugueze in 1586. They recovered it ſome time after. He retook, and they entered it again the ſame year. That prince ſeeing the ardor with which they maintained their conqueſt, not only renounced his deſign, but fearing they might take vengeance on his country, thought on buying his peace with them. He entered into a treaty, by which he ceded to them the property of the country of Salſette, which contained ſeventy villages, twelve more in that of Bardes, and thirty in Tiſvary. The conditions were, that the inhabitants ſhould have the liberty of commerce thro' all the Indies, excepting for their pepper, which they ſhould be obliged to ſell to the merchants of Goa, under pain of confiſcation of veſſels and cargo.

In proceſs of time the Indians broke thro' this treaty. Already the two nations were mutually diſcontented with one another, when in 1635, the Portugueze being informed that four Indian veſſels were bound to Mocha and Perſia, loaded with pepper, purſued them, attacked them as guilty of contravention, fell with fury on the merchants and ſailors, and carried the ſhips to Goa, where they killed in cold blood all that remained.

This

This act of cruelty (*m*), and many more ſtill greater, which may be ſeen in different accounts (*n*), rendered the Portugueze extremely odious to all the Indians. The eſtabliſhment of their famous inquiſition at Goa made them dreaded by all the European nations whom trade obliged to have any communication with them in the Indies. That formidable tribunal has been erected there more than a century ago, to judge in affairs of religion; but the abuſes which have been introduced into it by ſome officers, as well ſuperiors as ſubalterns, have altered it's firſt intention, in which there was nothing but what was laudable.

The firſt or grand inquiſitor is always a ſecular prieſt, who pretends to have ſolely the right of being carried in a palanquin; and who has much more reſpect paid him than the archbiſhop or the viceroy. His authority extends over all perſons, laymen and eccleſiaſticks, except the archbiſhop, his grand vicar, who is always a biſhop, the viceroy, and the governors who repreſent him; but even theſe he may cauſe to be arreſted and begin their proceſſes, after he has given advice to the court of Portugal of what crimes are laid to their charge. His houſhold conſiſts of gentlemen, equerries, pages,

(*m*) See a glaring inſtance of cruelty and irreligion towards ſome Frenchmen, in 1601. Collection of Dutch voyages, t. ii. p. 444.

(*n*) Tavern. c. 13, 14, & 15. Dellon, inquiſition of Goa, But that proteſtant writer ought to be read with caution. He has given vent to too much of his gall.

and footmen, and a great number of other domeſticks; his expence is almoſt equal to that of the viceroy. The ſecond inquiſitor is a religious of the order of St. Dominick; and the other officers, called deputies of the holy office, are taken from among the dominicans, auguſtins, and bareheaded carmelites. This tribunal has it's promoter oragent, procurator, and advocates for thoſe pannels who deſire them. Thoſe who are called familiars of the holy office are a ſort of bailiffs or ſerjeants. What happened to Mr. Tavernier in 1648 is remarkable (*o*).

'A gentleman, ſays that traveller, having come to tell me from the grand inquiſitor, that he expected to ſee me about two or three in the afternoon, I did not fail to be at the houſe of the inquiſition; at my arrival a page led me into a great hall, whence an officer conducted me to a chamber where the inquiſitor was. After having paſſed two grand galleries and ſome apartments, I entered the chamber where the inquiſitor was expecting me, ſeated at the end of a large table in the form of a billiard-table covered with green cloth. As ſoon as I entered he told me I was welcome; and when I had paid my compliments to him, he demanded what religion I was of? I anſwered, that I made profeſſion of the proteſtant religion; and when I had told him that my father and mother were of the ſame profeſſion, he aſſured me a ſecond time that I was welcome, crying to thoſe who were near that they might come

(*o*) His voyages, c. 14.

in.

in. Immediately a piece of the tapeſtry was lifted up, and diſcovered ten or a dozen perſons, in a little chamber adjoining. The firſt who entered were two auguſtin monks; who were followed by two dominicans, two carmelites, and ſome other churchmen, to whom the inquiſitor related what I was; that I had no prohibited books with me; and even that knowing the orders and uſages of the inquiſition, I had had the wiſdom to leave my bible at Mingrela.' Other and more ſingular particulars may be ſeen in Dellon (*p*), tho' that author ought to be read with caution.

There are in Goa ſo many churches, convents and chapels, that one half of them would be ſufficient for a city much larger and better peopled (*q*). Moſt part of theſe edifices are built and adorned within with an aſtoniſhing magnificence; an effect of the king of Portugal's generoſity, who has aſſigned revenues to all the churches, and penſions to the communities in proportion to their numbers. The jeſuits, amongſt others, have five houſes here, all very rich and numerous, as may be ſeen by Mandelſlo's relation (*r*). The body of St. Francis Xavier, who is commonly called the apoſtle of the Indies, is kept here. That ſaint arrived at Goa (*s*) in 1542, and made it the center of his miſſion. He died ten years after-

(*p*) Account of the inquiſition of Goa, 1687.
(*q*) Pietro della Valle, t. iii. p. 176. La Mart. at the word Goa.
(*r*) His voyages, p. 239, &c.
(*s*) Maffey, l. xv. c. 5. Baillet, Topography, p. 213.

wards in the iſland of Sancian, 23 leagues from the coaſt of China; and in 1554, his corps was carried to Goa, where it is preſerved, except ſome parts which they have diſtributed about, ſuch as an arm they have ſent to Rome.

Father Bouchet, a jeſuit miſſionary, in a letter written from Pondicherry the firſt of April, 1719, ſpeaks thus of Goa. We ſee here on all ſides (*t*) very handſome houſes, convenient and pleaſant gardens, and woods of palm tree planted in a line, which form avenues ſtretching out of ſight. The city was formerly comparable, and even ſuperior in many things, to the fineſt cities in Europe; but it is no more what it was ſixty years ago. However, there are ſtill fine edifices here. The palace of the viceroy, and that of the inquiſitor, are perfectly magnificent. We ſhall relate in the ſequel what has been the cauſe of this decay.

There grows in the iſland of Goa a very ſingular tree (*u*), called the ſorrowful tree, becauſe it flouriſhes in the night-time only. At ſun-ſet, no flowers are to be ſeen, and half an hour after it is quite full of them. They yield a ſweet ſmell, but laſt no longer than the ſun begins to ſhine on the tree; then ſome of them fall off, and others cloſe up; and this continues the whole year. It is nearly as large as the prune tree, and it's leaves reſemble thoſe of the orange. They are commonly planted in the

(*t*) Inſtructive letters, xv. p. 48.

(*u*) Du Bois. Geogr. p. 641. Dutch voyages, t. ii. p. 254. & vi. p. 475. Mandelſlo, p. 349, and others.

courts

courts of houſes, to have the advantage of their ſhade and ſmell. They grow very faſt, and the roots ſend forth a great many ſuckers, which, tho' they are but three feet in height, produce as many flowers as the longeſt branches of the tree. The Indians uſe them as ſaffron for their table and for dying.

Goa is the laſt place of importance in the kingdom of Viſapour, which is bounded on the ſouth by that of Carnate or Canara, which comprehends all the reſt of the peninſula except the weſtern coaſts. The city of Narſing, which others call Chandegri or Biſnagar, has ſometimes given it's name to that kingdom, becauſe it is it's capital, and the prince makes it his place of reſidence. It is true, that ſeveral authors have diſtinguiſhed Narſing from Biſnagar; but I am of opinion with M. de la Martiniere, that they are miſtaken; which is evident from the reſemblance of the deſcriptions they give of the two cities. Beſides the advantageous ſituation of Biſnagar (*x*), being built on the ſummit of a high mountain, it is ſurrounded with a triple row of walls, the laſt of which is more than three leagues in circuit. The prince's palace is lofty, ſpacious, magnificent, and environed with large and deep ditches. None are ſuffered to enter the fortreſs without an expreſs permiſſion from him. He allows Europeans, and other ſtrangers, to paſs ſome days in the city in the quality of travellers; but he has made an expreſs law, that

(*x*) Du Bois. Geograph. p. 646.

none ſhall be allowed to ſettle there on pretence of trade. However, many have ſtaid there long enough to inform us, that there is no place in the Indies where juſtice is ſo impartially adminiſter'd.

The king of Biſnagar is ſovereign of the provinces of Canara, Balabar, and Gingi, from whence he has driven it's particular prince. He takes the title of king of kings, and huſband of a thouſand wives; and he has ſometimes made war to maintain thoſe ridiculous titles. He has many fortified places. But his cannon are not caſt like ours; they are made of thick plates of iron joined together, and fixed with hoops of iron like hogſheads. Every year he viſits his kingdom, and reviews his troops, who honour him as a god. He can raiſe an hundred thouſand infantry, thirty thouſand cavalry, and ſeven hundred elephants. For this reaſon Europeans pay him great deference, to have his favour and the liberty of trading in his dominions, from whence they can have very valuable commodities: for this country is rich in mines of gold, ſilver, and diamonds. They fiſh for amethyſts and ſaphires in ſome of the great rivers, where they are found ſticking to the rocks. The inhabitants are pagans, and worſhip the ſun in particular, in honour of whom they have a grand feſtival every year.

In the inland part of this kingdom there are many cities, about which ſeveral curious and intereſting things might be related. But we cannot enter into ſuch a detail without tranſ-

greſſing our plan; and ſeveral volumes would be neceſſary to execute that which ought only to be a part of this. It will be ſufficient to mention Raolconde above Biſnagar, where there is the richeſt mine of diamonds in all the Indies; Gandicot (y) and Bezouer, famous for the number, ſingularity, and magnificence of their pagods; and many other places whoſe fields produce pepper, ginger, rhubarb, ſugar, cocoa nuts, palm trees, and rice in abundance. However we cannot diſpenſe with the account of the cities which lie on the coaſt of Malabar, from Goa to the cape.

Onor, about eighteen leagues from Goa, is a little town belonging to the Dutch (z), whoſe harbour, formed by two rivers, is ſafe and ſpacious. It is alſo defended by a ſtrong citadel, which is of much more conſequence than the city. All the people of note reſide there with the governor, who has permitted ſeveral Portugueze to ſettle in it.

Barcelor is at ſix leagues diſtance, and Mangalor fifteen. Theſe are the two moſt important places in Canara (a), either for the goodneſs of their roads, or their commerce. The Portugueze had forts there, from whence they were driven by the Canarins during their long and cruel wars with the Dutch. But the peace which was made between the two nations,

(y) Tavern. voyage to the Indies, tom. iii. l. i. c. 18.
(z) Thevenot, l. ii. c. 2.
(a) Savary, dict. of commerce. Maffey, l x. c. 2. l. xi. c. 2.

having given the viceroy of Goa an opportunity to be avenged of the Indians by incurſions, which ruined all the coaſt, the king of Canara offered to reſtore to the Portugueze the forts of thoſe two places. They refuſed them on account of the difficulty they ſhould find to keep them; they thought it would be more for their intereſt to ſettle two factories to receive one half of the duties on export and import.

According to the famous Pierre Davity (*b*), in his great work *of the World*, there is not a poorer and more unhappy nation than that of Canara; altho' miſery is the lot of the Indians in general, notwithſtanding the plentifulneſs and riches of their country. Their worſhip is the height of laſciviouſneſs. Their *joghis* or prieſts have improved upon the Greeks in the infamous uſage of the phallus; they ſolemnly adore the god Priapus, and their young women are obliged to offer up their virginity to him with ſuch indecent practices, that they cannot be named (*c*).

Mangalor is the laſt place of the kingdom of Canara, which is ſeparated from that of Malabar by a wall about eight leagues in length, one end of which reaches the ſea, and the other the famous mountain of Gate.

Cananor, upon the ſea-ſide, and fifteen leagues from Mangalor, was one of the firſt countries known to the Portugueze. In their ſecond voyage to the Indies, under the conduct of

(*b*) Deſcription of Aſia, p. 553.
(*c*) Collection of Dutch voyages, tom. vi. p. 436.

Pierre

Pierre Alvarès Caprales, they made the king of Cananor believe, that their maſter, the king of Portugal, had ſent them from the extremities of the world *(d)* to ſeek his friendſhip. The prince ſeduced by ſo flattering a compliment, made an alliance with them, and ſent embaſſadors to Emanuel king of Portugal. He loaded the navigators with preſents; he allowed Francis d'Almeida to build the firſt fort they were in poſſeſſion of, and there was a cloſe union between the two nations to make trade flouriſh. But the bad conduct of a Portugueze captain changed the face of affairs entirely, by attempting to take a veſſel of his allies, which foundered at ſea by the reſiſtance it made. This act of hoſtility equally enraged the king of Cananor and his ſubjects. Fifty years of a bloody war between the two nations occaſioned infinite loſſes, and the courage and conſtancy of the Europeans to be much admired. New enemies deprived them of what they had purchaſed and preſerved at the price of ſo much bloodſhed. The Hollanders having made themſelves maſters of Granganor, Cochin, and Coulan in 1663, reckoned it was neceſſary for them not to leave the Portugueze at Cananor. They forced them to ſurrender by capitulation, in February the following year, and they made a new treaty with the king of Cananor for the ſafety and advantage of the Dutch company. Balée, the miniſter, who was with the conquering army,

(d) Maffey, part. i. l. ii. c. 5. Collection of Dutch voyages, tom. vi. p. 439. Mandel. p. 963. Thevenot, l. ii. c. 1.

and

and has related that war at length (*e*), ſays that he preached the firſt ſermon of thankſgiving for that conqueſt.

Calicut is the capital of a ſecond kingdom on the coaſt of Malabar. It is three leagues in circuit (*f*), tho' not ſurrounded by walls; it is reckoned to contain ſix thouſand houſes, moſt of them placed by themſelves, and at a ſufficient diſtance from one another to have each a garden. A merchant can purchaſe one for twenty crowns, and thoſe for common people coſt but two. It is true that they are built only of large pieces of earth cut in ſquares, and dried in the ſun, and are no more than ſeven or eight feet high. This country is one of the fineſt, the richeſt, and moſt populous of all the peninſula; for the king can bring one hundred thouſand men into the field, tho' they do not extend above twenty-five leagues, either along the ſea-ſide or up the country; others allow it thirty or forty leagues, to the mountains. The ancient diviſion of eſtates is ſtill preſerved. The firſt is that of the prieſts, or bramins, who keep the king company during his meals, and liſten with great reſpect to all he ſays. The ſecond is that of the ſwordſmen, or naïres, who are ennobled by their condition, tho' ſimple ſoldiers; they are allowed to wear a ſword, a ſhield,

(*e*) Balée, deſcription of the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 16.

(*f*) Collection of Dutch voyages, t. iii. p. 671. t. iv. p. 56. t. vi. p. 441. In all theſe places, Calicut and the manners of the country are deſcribed at length. Theven. p. 260.

halberd

halberd or pike when they go abroad. The third is that of the artizans; the fourth that of the huntſmen; the fifth that of the labourers, who gather the pepper, the wine, and the nuts, ſow the rice and take in the harveſt.

Their maxims, with reſpect to marriage and the uſe of women, are peculiar to this country. When the king marries, he gives five hundred crowns to the prieſt whom he pitches on to paſs the firſt night with his wife. It is a cuſtom among the nobility and the merchants to change with one another the women they have eſpouſed, thinking it is a means of cementing friendſhip; but the children remain with the father. A woman may marry ſeven huſbands, and converſe with them all at the ſame time. When ſhe becomes pregnant, ſhe may give the child to whom ſhe pleaſes, and he cannot refuſe it. Altho' they go almoſt naked, like the men, yet they take great pains in adjuſting their ornaments, which conſiſt in decking their ears, necks, arms, legs, and breaſts with gold and jewels.

The king takes the title of zamorin, which in his language ſignifies emperor. He does this according to an ancient regulation of Ceram Peroumal, or Pereymal, who retired to Mecca to paſs the reſt of his days. That prince *(g)*, ſovereign of all Malabar, divided his empire amongſt his friends and relations, and thus gave riſe to that multitude of petty kings with which

(g) La Croſe, hiſt. of chriſtianity in the Indies, l. i. p. 44. Mandelſlo, p. 267, &c.

the

the coaſts are filled. But he ordained, that the king of Calicut ſhould have the title of zamorin. All the country honours him as a god; aud it is perhaps out of reſpect to him that they obſerve ſo exactly a whimſical law, of which they believe him the author. When the zamorin of Calicut dies, his children do not ſucceed him, but his ſiſter's ſon; for the bramins having had the firſt favours from the queen, and continuing always about her in order to accompany the king, it is preſumed that the children which ſhe brings into the world belong rather to them than the king; whereas the ſons of the prince's ſiſter are neceſſarily of the blood royal.

A judgement may be formed of this prince's power by the armies he ſet on foot againſt the Portugueze in 1503. Calicut was the firſt place in the Indies where thoſe famous navigators landed. They gained at firſt the friendſhip of Zamorin by their preſents and their artifices. But it was ſoon turned into an implacable hatred. Maffey (*b*), a Portugueze hiſtorian, and on that account to be ſuſpected when their conduct is in queſtion, diſſembles the reaſon of it. The zamorin marched againſt them with two hundred ſhips of war, ſuch as they are in that country, and ſixty thouſand men. Calicut and Panana, places of pleaſure to that prince, were frequently the field of battle. The war rekindled with greater fury in 1529. He beſieged the fortreſs the Portugueze

(*b*) Hiſt of the Indies, part i. l. ii. c. 4.

tugueze had built at Calicut. A hundred thouſand men which he had on foot carried it by aſſault and demoliſhed it, according to the account of Pierre Van Caerdan (*i*). But Gautier Schouten (*k*) ſays, that the Portugueze, ſeeing the bad ſtate of their affairs, demoliſhed it themſelves.

The city of Calicut acknowledges for it's founder Ceram Peroumal, the protector of the chriſtians in the Indies. Before he retired he gave them all the rights and privileges of the nobleſſe of the country. By virtue of this ordonnance, they have the precedence of the naïres, the only nobles in this infidel nation; and what is ſtill of greater conſequence, they depend only on their biſhop, both in ſpiritual and temporal affairs. This favour is ſo much the greater, as the bramins are held in ſo much veneration among thoſe idolaters. We ſhall treat more particularly of them in the ſequel.

About eighteen leagues from Calicut ſtands the city of Cranganor (*l*), capital of a ſmall kingdom which bears the ſame name. It's king is tributary to Zamorin, and is nothing more than hereditary governor of the country. His palace is very ordinary. While the Portugueze were maſters of Cranganor, amongſt other churches the jeſuits, or fathers of St. Paul, as they are called in that country, had a nume-

(*i*) Dutch collection, tom. iii.
(*k*) Ibid. tom. vi. locis citatis.
(*l*) See La Martiniere, and the Dutch collection, t. vi. p. 337, & 445.

rous

rous college, and a fine library; the franciſcans had likewiſe a convent there. As there was a great number of chriſtians of St. Thomas there, they had an archbiſhop and a cathedral. But ſince the Dutch took this city by aſſault the 15th of January 1662, their hatred to thoſe they call roman catholicks has done great harm to theſe religious communities.

The city of Cochin, capital of the kingdom which bears it's name, is divided into the high and low town (*m*), one of which is ſituated at the mouth of a large river called Mangati, which has ſtrong fortifications, and belongs to the king of the country. The other is a village where the Portugueze ſettled on their firſt navigation to the Indies. The Dutch took it from them in 1662, and carry on a great trade in pepper, which, with that of Calicut, is the beſt that grows in the Indies. The manners of the inhabitants, and the reverence they pay the bramins, are the ſame as in Calicut. They have a ſort of black tree, of whoſe trunk canoes are made, in which they venture the length of Goa, and even farther into the open ſea.

This kingdom, towards the ſouth, extends to the length of cape Comorin, and is bounded on the eaſt by the mountains of Gate, which, like the Apennines in Italy, run about thirty leagues from the ſea thro' the whole extent of the coaſt of Malabar, and ſeparate in a manner two worlds, differing from one another in

(*m*) Madelſlo, p. 267. Dutch collection, t. vi. p. 363. Thevenot, t. i. p. 261.

climate.

climate. All our travellers agree in relating a circumſtance of theſe mountains, which experience alone could have informed them of, and rendered credible. The country which they ſeparate has two ſeaſons, entirely different at the ſame time. Winter begins on the coaſt of Malabar (*n*) about the end of June (*o*), with a ſouth-eaſt wind which blows from the ſea, and rages for four months along the coaſt, from Diu to cape Comorin. The ſea is then no longer navigable, and there are few harbours where the ſhips can ride in ſafety from the ſtorms, attended with terrible thunder and lightning which prevail all that ſeaſon. It is aſtoniſhing that at the ſame time on the coaſt of Coromandel, which bounds the peninſula to the eaſt, there is an agreeable ſpring and the fineſt ſeaſon of the year. Thus when they enjoy the ſereneſt weather at Maſulipatan, at Goa and it's neighbourhood in the ſame latitude, they feel all the rigors of the winter except froſt. The ſame thing happens at Mengalor and Meliapour, Cananor and Pondicherry, and even at Coulan and Tutucurin, which are only thirty leagues diſtant from one another. Thoſe who travel by land from one coaſt to the other, diſcover from the top of the hills of Gate, on the one ſide a ſerene and temperate air, and on the other a country covered with tempeſts and drowned with rains.

(*n*) Mandelſlo, p. 250.

(*o*) This has made Q. Curtius ſay, that the Indians have winter while we have ſummer, l. viii. c. 9.

About

About the end of October (*p*) the winter ceaſes on the coaſt of Malabar, and almoſt generally throughout the Indies, even in the kingdoms of Orixa and Bengal, and begins on the coaſt of Coromandel, where it laſts four whole months; while in the reſt of the country the heavens are in their ſerenity, and the earth pours forth it's beauties and riches in the greateſt plenty.

Two or three places beſides are mentioned, where this prodigious difference of the ſeaſons obtains within a very inconſiderable diſtance. At Ceylon the winter begins in October in the northern part of the iſland, at the ſame time on the coaſt of Coromandel, which is not far diſtant from it, while the ſouthern parts enjoy a delightful ſummer ſeaſon. On the contrary, when Jaffanatapan enjoys the ſweets of ſummer, the towns on the ſouth, ſuch as Columbo, Caleture, Bellingham, and others, are covered with a thick and gloomy atmoſphere, and overwhelmed with continual rains. The ſame thing happens in part of the eaſtern iſlands. At Ceram, a long narrow iſland in the neighbourhood of Amboyna, while they have winter on the north ſide, on the ſouth, only three or four leagues diſtant, it is ſummer. In fine, on one ſide of cape Roſalgate, in the Arabian ſea, ſhips ride at anchor, or ſail in ſafety; while on the other ſide of the ſame cape, even to the moſt diſtant ſhores of Arabia Felix, no ſhips can keep the ſea on account of the continual ſtorms.

(*p*) Collection of Dutch voyages, tom. vi. p. 506, &c.

It

It was neceſſary to take this notice of the variety of ſeaſons, in order to underſtand and reconcile travellers, ſome of whom place winter in ſummer, and others ſummer during the winter months. After this digreſſion we muſt reſume the topography of the peninſula within the Ganges. Cape Comorin, the ſouthernmoſt point of the mountains of Gate, divides the two coaſts of the peninſula. The weſtern, of which we have ſpoken, is called the coaſt of Malabar; the eaſtern, which we are now to deſcribe, the coaſt of Coromandel. The Paravas (*r*) and Maravas, who inhabit the bottom of it, are idolaters very little known. That ſtrait is famous for the fiſhery carried on at the cape, and at Tutocorin, of the fineſt pearls in the Indies (*s*) on that account it has obtained the name of The Fiſhery. Ambergreaſe is likewiſe found upon the rocks at the bottom of the ſea, as perfect as that of the Maldives and Madagaſcar. We have treated of the pearls at length; but ſuch is the uncertainty naturaliſts are in, about the nature of ambergreaſe, and the manner in which it is formed, that we dare not hazard our conjectures about it (*t*).

The firſt place which preſents itſelf on going out of the ſtrait, is Negapatan. When the

(*r*) Collection of Dutch voyages, tom. iv. p. 297.
(*s*) Dutch voyages, tom. vi. p. 311, &c.
(*t*) The authors of the dictionary of Trevoux have handled this article with equal ſagacity and erudition, without giving their particular ſentiments on it; and in fact it is difficult to decide it.

Portugueze began their ſettlements in the Indies (*u*), it was only a ſmall village, of which they made a very conſiderable city. They environ'd it with ſtrong walls, round which they dug a large ditch. As they poſſeſſed the coaſt of the fiſhery, and the iſland of Ceylon, that city became a place of great reſort among them. Many fine churches, and a college for the jeſuits, were built in it. They kept it till 1658, about ſixty years, when the Dutch, who had already ſeized on the iſland of Ceylon, took it from them, with the aſſiſtance of the king of Tangeor, whom they had engaged to betray the Portugueze. Immediately they threw a numerous garriſon into it, furniſhed it with every thing neceſſary for defence, and made it one of their principal ſettlements. Since that time, Moors, Benjans, and Indians of all the provinces, reſort thither, and carry on their trade in tranquillity under the protection of the Dutch. The country about is full of pagods, ſome richly adorned, but without any taſte; others obſcure, filthy, and ill-built, not unlike brick-kilns All of them are full of horrible figures, which thoſe idolaters worſhip as their gods.

Tangeor lies at the diſtance of twenty leagues, and is the capital of a ſmall principality of the ſame name. Tho' the prince and the people have been at all times implacable enemies to the true religion, yet it is affirmed the chriſtians (*x*) have 740 houſes in that city.

(*u*) Dutch voyages, tom. vi. p. 300.
(*x*) Trevoux at the word Tanjaor.

Trangobar

Trangobar on the ſea-ſide, belongs to the Danes, who purchaſed it in 1630. It was then only a ſmall village; but they have made it a fine large city, and fortified it with a caſtle and citadel. There is one catholick, and three proteſtant churches in it, as alſo one moſque and five large pagods; ſo that this city has inhabitants of all religions. The king of Denmark maintains miniſters here, who preach chriſtianity according to the proteſtant form. Their zeal, and the learned accounts publiſhed by them, have been much commended *(y)*. They have been ſettled here ſince 1707. They carried a printing preſs and workmen with them, a thing which had not been before ſeen in the Indies. After having printed ſeveral ſmall books on religion, both in the Malabar and Portugueze, they at laſt printed the New Teſtament, tranſlated by them into theſe two languages (*z*). They have likewiſe tranſlated the Old Teſtament, and ought now to be printing it.

Eighteen leagues to the northward lies Pondicherry, the fineſt ſettlement and principal factory of the French India company. When our navigators took poſſeſſion of it, it was called Boudoutſcherry(*a*), and was then a place of little conſequence; but it has ſince changed it's appearance.

(y) I have not ſeen theſe accounts which are in German. But Abraham Du Bois, from whom this article is taken, p. 645, commends them greatly, p. 643.

(z) There is a copy of the ſecond edition in the king's library at Paris, in the Balis language.

(a) Du Bois, p. 646.

M. Macerat immediately eſtabliſhed a factory here (*b*), built a fort, as alſo a ſeminary for the jeſuits, a houſe for the gentlemen of the foreign miſſion, and a convent for the capuchins. The Dutch, jealous of a ſettlement which was forming with ſuch ſucceſs and rapidity, ſent three thouſand five hundred regular troops, with a formidable artillery, and all kinds of warlike ſtores, to deprive us of that conqueſt. One hundred and fifty Frenchmen, of whom the whole garriſon conſiſted, withſtood the violence and fury of their aſſaults for ten or twelve days. At laſt, overborne by numbers, they were forced to ſurrender on the moſt honourable conditions they could expect from their bad fortune. They marched out of the city the third of September 1693, with their arms and baggage; but the Dutch reſtored the place in 1698, after the peace of Ryſwick, as had been agreed by the articles of the treaty; and ſince that we have had a biſhop always reſiding here.

The changes which the company have brought about here, ſince they have been in peaceable poſſeſſion of it, are almoſt incredible. There is a regular fortreſs (*c*), where no works neceſſary for a good defence are wanting; it is always furniſhed with warlike ſtores and proviſions, and with two hundred pieces of cannon. The greateſt part of the town has been rebuilt, and is increaſing and growing finer every day. The ſtreets are quite ſtreight, the houſes of the

(*b*) Memoirs of the times. Lullier, p. 98.
(*c*) Inſtructive letters, t. xv. p. 19.

Europeans are built of brick, in the Roman faſhion with only one ſtory, becauſe wood is ſcarce, and they are beſides afraid of the winds. Thoſe of the Indians, tho' built only of earth mixed with a kind of lime made of calcined oyſter ſhells, do not want their beauty, as they form ſtreight ſtreets. They have fine avenues of trees, in the ſhade of which the weavers work the cotton ſtuffs, ſo much eſteemed in Europe.

Here follows the account which a modern traveller has left us, who performed that voyage in 1722 (*d*). Pondicherry is the chief factory which the company has in the Indies, and the only place where the Engliſh and Dutch have none. Some years ago his majeſty eſtabliſhed a ſovereign council in this city. The company poſſeſſes large dominions here, and the city is about four leagues in circuit, wherein every eſtate has it's ſeparate quarter. When I was there, they were raiſing a new fort, altho' there were already nine ſmall ones, to defend the place againſt the inroads of the Moors. The company maintains on this account, a governor, a commandant of the infantry, a major, three companies of French infantry, and between two and three hundred Topaſes, who are people of the country bred up and cloathed in the French manner, whom the miſſionaries have inſtructed in the catholick faith.

The company, as ſovereign of Pondicherry and it's dependencies, cauſes money to be coined here

(*d*) Lullier, voyage to the Indies, p. 33.

in the name of the king. Cowries are not taken in payment (*e*), which however are current in the country, altho' no more than little ſhells, twenty of which are worth a liard. They alſo uſe caches, a ſmall piece of copper worth a denier; the largeſt pieces of ſilver are valued at four ſols; and their louis, called pagods, half a piſtole. No doubt the price of the metal is in proportion to that ſmall ſum.

The country where the ſoil is ſandy, produces nothing but rice and a few pot-herbs. Yet they gather here a ſort of large turneps (*f*), ſorrel, ſpinach, ſmall gourds called giromons, ſuccory, white cabbages and cucumbers; but all thoſe kinds of pulſe have a different taſte from ours. There likewiſe grow here a good many citrons, ſome oranges, bananoes, pomegranates, potatoes, and water melons, ſo called becauſe they diſſolve almoſt entirely into water, and grow in the marſhes, as alſo ſome other kinds of fruit unknown in Europe. All manner of wild fowl and veniſon are found here, alſo ſome oxen and cows, and a great number of buffaloes, which are uſed by the country people as beaſts of burden. Laſtly, here are great numbers of cocoas: a tree ſo extraordinary and ſo valuable, that it deſerves a place in this hiſtory.

The cocoa, by others called the Indian palm, is a large tree of one ſingle trunk (*g*), which is never more than a foot in diameter, but riſes to

(*e*) Lullier, voyage to the Indies, p. 188.
(*f*) Ibid. p. 30,
(*g*) Maffey p. i. l. viii. c 7. Mandel. p. 350. Dutch voyages, t. i. p. 266. t. vi p. 472. Lullier, p. 31. and others.

the height of fifty, and naturally prunes itſelf. From it's top ſpring ſome ſlender branches with leaves, ſometimes twenty feet in length, whoſe weight makes them hang down tho' they are very thin, and form an agreeable ſhade, with a head naturally cut into a round form.

While the trunk is green, it contains a white pith, like curdled milk, extremely tender and delicious, which one need not be afraid to eat to exceſs, as it can do no harm. The wood is then ſpungy, and cuts very eaſily; the Indians, without fear of damaging it, make notches in it at certain diſtances, by which they mount to the top of the tree with incredible ſwiftneſs. But ſome time after it is fell'd it grows very hard, as we ſee in thoſe pieces which are brought to us. It becomes good firewood, and is alſo made into maſts, planks, poles, ſwords and arrows which are ſo hard as to pierce iron cuiraſſes. It has three ſorts of bark, the firſt and the ſecond are uſed to pack up merchants goods; the third is ſo fine, that paper is made of it (*b*), and it ſerves for many uſes beſides.

At the top, and immediately under the place where the branches ſpring out, ſhoots out a number of huſks, a little flatted, of the bigneſs and length of a man's arms. They conſiſt of two or three coats, which break as the fruit they contain puſhes out and enlarges. Then a cluſter appears, to which are fixed eighty or a hundred

(*b*) Q. Curtius has already ſaid, that ſome Indian trees had ſo fine a bark, that it was wrote upon, l. viii. c. 9.

ſmall cocoa nuts, whereof only thirteen or fourteen come to perfect maturity. Cluſters of different ages are to be ſeen on the ſame tree. Some are in flower, while others have their fruit already formed, or are ready to be gathered. The Indians do not always delay cutting the nuts till they are come to full ripeneſs. Experience has made them ſenſible, that this fruit has it's particular virtues at any time that it is gathered. When the nut is yet green, altho' of the bigneſs of two fiſts, almoſt a pint of liquor is drawn from it, clear and freſh as the pureſt ſpring water. Beſides being the moſt agreeable liquor that can be drank, it perfectly quenches thirſt, refreſhes the blood, and cures ardent fevers: when taken hot it ſtops the flux of blood, and is the principal article in the compoſition of a great number of remedies. When a little farther advanced, that liquor thickens within, and cuts with a ſpoon like cream. It hardens inſenſibly; firſt it takes the conſiſtence, colour, and nearly the taſte of our nuts; then it becomes like the filberd or almond, but of a much more delicate ſavour. The Indians raſp it to mix with their rice; and when they add ſugar and cinnamon, it becomes a moſt delicate diſh for all perſons. The oil which is drawn from it is extremely ſoft; and only on account of it's plenty becomes ſo cheap, and is applied to the moſt common uſes, which occaſions a great conſumption of it. The nut, whence it is expreſſed, is commonly of the bigneſs and figure of an oval melon; tho' ſometimes larger.

larger. It has a triple bark; the outermoſt is very brown and cloſe; the ſecond, when dry, forms a ſort of flax; the third is a very thin ſkin, which turns perfectly white, and every body, even the principal perſons of the country, wear caps made of it. But before that ſecond bark becomes dry thro' ripeneſs, they ſeaſon it like Spaniſh cardoons, and the inſide of the nut is uſed for bread. There is nothing fitter to be ſpun, or which is of greater uſe. Of it's fineſt part, after being carded, that ſort of ſtuff is made called *ecorce*; and of what remains in tow, ropes and cables are made, fitter for ſhips than any produced from other materials. For this bark agreeing with ſalt water, grows green again in the ſea, and keeps ſhips at anchor in all ſafety, not ſo much by it's ſtrength, as by it's verdor and pliableneſs, which make it ſtretch like wax, and humour the motion of the veſſel when ſhe heaves by the ſwell of the waves, and recover it's natural ſize when they are at reſt. So that they are widely different from our cables, which frequently break with their own weight. Laſtly, of the ſhell immediately encloſing the fruit, cups, drinking veſſels, and other ornaments are made, which become very valuable on account of the figures deſigned on them by the Indians with admirable art, and the rich furniture wherewith they are mounted. They are frequently met with in France in the cabinets of the curious.

Art and experience have taught the natives of this country the manner of drawing wine from

from this tree (*i*), to which nature ſeems to have given the virtues of all other plants. For this purpoſe they cut off a flower, or an intire huſk, and at that place fix a pitcher hermetically ſealed to the tree, that the air may not touch the liquor which diſtills continually. When the veſſel is full they boil it, and the fire gives it the taſte and quality of wine, altho' before it was like milk. When the Indians want good vinegar, they expoſe that liquor to the ſun, and in order to make ſtrong ſpirits, diſtill it by the alembick. They likewiſe make ſugar of it, which they call jacra; but as it is brown they do not eſteem it, having plenty of the white ſort. The Portugueze by mixing dried raiſins and ſome other drugs with this liquor as it comes out of the tree, make a drink of the taſte and ſtrength of Spaniſh wine.

The pith which runs thro' the trunk comes out at the ſuperior extremity, ſometimes in a point, ſometimes in a round ball, encloſed in a huſk; this is called *palmite*. Within is a white ſubſtance divided by leaves, which ſhut very cloſe upon one another. They ſerve for ſeveral uſes. When eat raw they have an excellent taſte; they are put in ſoop like cabbage, and ſometimes uſed in ſallads like lettuces: laſtly, when left to dry they become the fineſt paper in the Indies. But by taking away the palmite the loſs of the tree is endangered.

(*i*) The ancients knew this art. Vid. Philoſt. in vita Apol. l. ii. c. 7. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9. Strabo, l. xv. p. 694, & 709. Athen. l. xii. p. 652.

It

It only remains that we ſpeak of the leaves of the cocoa, which are no leſs curious and uſeful than the other parts of the tree. Some Europeans have meaſured them, and found ſome twenty feet long. They are ſhaped like a writing pen. The Indians have a way of preparing and rendering them pliable as cotton. Some make cloaths of them, others cover their houſes with them; the merchants uſe them in package, and ſeamen make ſails of them.

Of all the trees that grow upon the face of the earth, none is ſo ſerviceable as the cocoa. It alone can ſupply all the neceſſities of mankind. It's pith, liquor, and fruit are ſufficient to ſupport the Indians, who are naturally ſober. It's wood is uſed in building ſhips and houſes, and in making arms; it's leaves ſupply the place of ſlates, tiles, and ſails for ſhips; in ſhort, it's different barks are the materials of the cloathing of the country, tapeſtries, mats, and different ſtuffs, equally beautiful and uſeful. Thus when the Indians ſee a thriving induſtrious man, they ſay that he is worth as much as the cocoa. That tree is ſo common in many countries of the Indies, that there are whole foreſts of them.

It's deſcription engages us to ſpeak of another tree, which is only known in thoſe eaſtern provinces, and has always been a ſubject of wonder and admiration to ſtrangers. It's trunk grows up at firſt (*l*) like that of other trees;

(*l*) Dutch voyages, t. vi. p. 475. Strabo gives the ſame deſcription after Oneſicritus, l. xv. p. 694. & Diod. p. 560.

then

then it's principal branches bend down again towards the earth, and fix themſelves there by the fibres and ſmall branches which they puſh out, and then become roots. The juice which the branch draws from thence makes it ſet up again and form a ſecond tree. The great branches of this laſt fall down like thoſe of the firſt, they take root, ſet up again, and thus ſucceſſively 'till they have filled all the ſpot round the principal trunk, or 'till it's progreſs is ſtopt; on this account it is called the tree of roots. They ſpring up in ſuch a manner that 'tis ſaid, one alone, in a ſhort ſpace of time, can produce enough to cover a thouſand men with it's ſhade. When care is taken to direct it's branches, from the place whence they propagate, they make fine avenues of trees, and moſt agreeable arbours, where people can walk under ſhelter from the heats of the ſun, which are extreme and inſupportable in the ſouthern Indies. It's leaves reſemble thoſe of the wild quince, and it's fruit, olives, but are a little ſharp to the taſte.

Before we end this article of Pondicherry, which has thrown us into this digreſſion of natural hiſtory, we ſhall relate an aſtronomical obſervation, important to geography in general, and the ſituation of that town in particular. After ſeveral obſervations made on the different eclipſes of the firſt ſatellite of Jupiter *(m)*, it has been found that the difference of time between the meridian of Paris and that of Pondi-

(*m*) La Martiniere.

cherry,

cherry, is five hours eleven or twelve minutes, amounting to about 78 degrees; and conſequently, as in the hypotheſes of the obſervatory at Paris, the longitude of that city is twenty-two degrees thirty minutes, we muſt conclude, that the true longitude of Pondicherry is a hundred degrees thirty minutes. Thus we may ſee the grievous error in which our moſt celebrated geographers have hitherto been. Monſieur Sanſon, otherwiſe ſo much eſteemed, places that town in the hundred and nineteenth degree; which would remove it above 450 leagues farther from Paris than it is, according to the infallible rule of the ſtars. The conformity of M. De L'Iſle's laſt charts with thoſe obſervations, is the greateſt eulogium that can be made on the knowledge and accuracy of the author.

Let us now reſume the deſcription of the coaſt of Coromandel. Sadraſpatan *(n)* is a ſmall maritime city pretty well peopled, which the Dutch company took from the Germans. It would ſeem that theſe latter had no other market in the Indies for the commerce of the Oſtend company. Sadraſpatan is two long days journey from Pondicherry; to go from the one to the other by land, one muſt paſs thro' deſerts and foreſts of cocoa trees.

At the ſame diſtance ſtands the city of Meliapour. It was the capital of the kingdom of

(n) Du Bois, p. 646.

Coromandel,

Coromandel, when the Portugueze (*o*) ſeized it; under the command of Gama. Surpriſed to find a conſiderable number of the inhabitants who profeſſed the chriſtian religion, and called themſelves chriſtians of St. Thomas, they changed the name of Meliapour, into that of the city of Saint Thomas. Tradition indeed (*p*) bears, that the apoſtle St. Thomas preached the goſpel there, and ſealed it with his blood, which the jealouſy aud fury of the brachmans ſhed on a neighbouring mountain. But thoſe who have confounded Meliapour with St. Thomas are in an error. They are two diſtinct cities, altho' contiguous to one another (*q*); whether they always were ſo, or have only been ſo ſince the wars of Aurengezebe, who reduced them almoſt to a heap of ruins. That city has frequently changed it's fortune and ſovereign. M. De la Haye (*r*) having been ſent into the Indies with a fleet of ten French ſhips of war, attacked and carried it in a few hours, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Indians, and we ſhould ſtill have been maſters of it, if ſuccours had been ſent him from Europe. The king of Golconda having recovered it, was afraid to loſe it a ſecond time, and

(*o*) Maffey, part i. l. ii. c. 7. & l. viii. c. 11. Theven. p. 31, & 266.

(*p*) See a long account of Tachard in the collection of inſtructive letters, tom. xii. Maffey, locis cit. Mandelſlo, p. 287. & Du Bois, p. 646.

(*q*) Dutch voyages, t. iii. p. 132.

(*r*) Inſtructive letters, t. xv. Letter of father Bouchet.

diſmantled

diſmantled the city and fortreſs. Out of it's ruins the city of Madraſs, ſituated a little below it, has been increaſed. The Indians, both pagans and mahometans, remain at Meliapour; and Saint Thomas is almoſt filled with chriſtians, who are under the dominion of the king or emperor of Carnate.

The Dutch are maſters of the upper coaſt as far as Maſulipatan (*s*). They have had a factory at Paliacate ſince the year 1606, where they have a very conſiderable trade as well as at Pottapouli. To ſecure the poſſeſſion of Paliacate, they have built a fort called The Gueldres.

Maſulipatan, now ſo famous in France, is ſituated at the mouth of the river Criſna. It belonged (*t*) formerly to the king of Golconda, but is at preſent under the great mogul. The conveniency of the port has drawn merchants from all parts of Europe, to get the painted callicoes manufactured there, which are more eſteemed than any others of the Indies. Yet however great it's trade may be, the city is very indifferent and ill-built, but extremely well peopled. What is related of the heats felt there, is almoſt incredible. Every year, in the month of May, the weſt wind blows during ſeven or eight hours a day, heating the country more than the ſun itſelf, however ſultry it may be. The heat is then as great as that which is felt when one approaches a burning houſe. In their chambers, however well

(*s*) Mandelſlo, p. 288.
(*t*) Inſtructive letters, t. xv. p. 27.

ſhut

ſhut up, the wood of the chairs and tables, and the wainſcotting, are ſo much heated, that they are obliged to throw water upon them continually. The rains which fall about the end of ſummer, refreſh the air a great deal, without occaſioning any cold; and are ſo plentiful that they lay the whole country under water. The inhabitants receive the ſame benefit from them that the Egyptians do from the inundations of the Nile. They ſow their lands, thus prepared, with rice and other grain, without expecting any more rain for eight months. In all that time the trees are green, and alternately loaded with ripe fruits. They have two harveſts of rice; and there are lands which are reaped three times. This plenty, together with the ſuperſtition of the inhabitants, moſt of whom eat nothing that has life, renders every thing cheap. Eight fowls are ſold at fourteen ſols, a ſheep at eleven, and every thing elſe in proportion. All theſe things are ſtill cheaper without the city.

The kingdom of Golconda, whoſe principal harbour is Maſulipatan, extends from the gulph of Bengal to the kingdom of Viſapour; and from north to ſouth, is contained between thoſe of Berar and Carnate. Anciently it was part of a vaſt empire (*u*), the ſovereign of which was called the emperor of Biſnagar, and contained almoſt all the peninſula, from the northern extremity of Orixa to cape Comorin.

(*u*) On the hiſtory of this kingdom, ſee Tavern. t. iii. l. i. c. 10. Thev. t. v. p. 190. Inſtructive letters, t. xv.

The

The Patanes, a nation of northern Tartars, deprived him of part of his dominions; another part was taken from him by the Mogul princes, who advanced farther and farther towards the ſouth; and the generals of this unfortunate prince divided the reſt among them, after having betrayed him. From them the kingdoms of Decan, Viſapour, and Carnate, had their beginning about two centuries ago. The prince of Golconda has preſerved the title of king; but he is dependent and tributary to the great mogul.

Golconda, which gives name to the kingdom, was only a pleaſure garden on the top of a little mountain, when Cotup-Cha, one of thoſe rebellious generals of whom we have been ſpeaking, built a fort on it to ſupport his rebellion. Having got rid of all his fears, and become peaceable poſſeſſor of the country he had uſurped, by the death of the emperor his maſter, he converted it into a palace, and his ſucceſſors have ſo much augmented it, that it is now two leagues in circuit. It's walls are built of hewn ſtone three feet ſquare, and ſurrounded with deep ditches, divided into ſeveral baſons or ponds, where the water is daily renewed. The prince does not occupy all this extent of ground himſelf. There are many ſuperb moſques in it, wherein are the tombs of the kings his anceſtors, and their families. The great officers of the crown, the guards, the principal eunuchs, the goldſmiths, the jewellers and engravers, have all their lodges here, according to their condition,

ſo that Golconda may as well be reckoned a city as a palace. Mahometaniſm is the religion of the prince, and conſequently of a great part of his ſubjects. Thus the temples of this country are not filled with thoſe monſtrous figures which are ſeen in the other kingdoms of the peninſula. They are moſques after the manner of the Turks, where the people pay their reverence to Mahomet and the alcoran. The mines of gold, diamonds, ſaphires, and other precious ſtones in this kingdom, have filled the palace with immenſe riches. But if any diamond is found above a certain bigneſs, the king is obliged to have it cut ſecretly, leſt the great mogul ſhould demand it.

The bezoar is another ſource of this prince's riches. This excellent antidote (*x*) is nothing but a ſtone form'd in the belly of certain animals, in ſeveral places of Aſia. All naturaliſts and travellers agree, that the beſt comes from the kingdom of Golconda. The mountains where the goats, in which it is found, paſture, are about ſeven or eight days journey from the palace, on the confines of the kingdom of Orixa; this is ſold at forty crowns the pound. Bezoars are found in ſome cows, but are much larger than thoſe of the goats, and not ſo much valued; thoſe that are moſt eſteemed come from a particular ſpecies of apes which are not common. Theſe bezoars are ſmall and long, for ſome are of all figures. The colour is likewiſe different. Some are black, others aſh-coloured, and others

(*x*) See the dictionary of Trevoux.

yellow.

yellow. Commonly they are of a dark grey, or a very deep green. The ſtone is compoſed of ſeveral ſmall coats, like onions, which lie one upon another, poliſhed and ſhining, but the external ones are leſs ſo than the internal. In the center there is a ſmall cavity, wherein a little powder is found of the ſame nature with the ſtone, or ſtraws, blades of graſs, beans, bits of wood, or a ſmall pebble which forms the ſoul of the bezoar, that is to ſay, has cauſed it's production, and is the baſis of it. It's ſize is likewiſe uncertain: ſome weighing only a drachm, others ten, fifteen, or even more. Commonly they reſemble a pigeon's egg, a kidney, or a cheſnut.

To try theſe ſtones, they rub them with lime ſteeped in water; if they are good they turn yellow. Others rub over a piece of paper with white chalk, then paſſing the bezoar over it, if it is good, the marks it has made will become green. Sometimes a hot iron is put upon it, which ought not to diſſolve it; the beſt ſhould ſuffer nothing by it. Laſtly, they weigh it and throw it into water; if, after it has been ſteep'd two hours, it has loſt nothing of it's weight, it is a ſign that it is good and genuine. The king of Golconda draws a great revenue from that which is ſold in his kingdom. But the duties on cottons are infinitely more valuable, as well as thoſe on the tari, or cocoa wine, of which the looſe women of Biſnagar occaſion a very great conſumption *(y)*. This

(y) See Tavernier, t. iii. l. i. c. 10.

kingdom is the laſt of the peninſula within the Ganges, and leads us to that which lies without that river.

SECT. III.

Of the Peninſula beyond the Ganges.

WE ſhould ſeek in vain for any lights, with reſpect to this country, in the writings of the ancients. They had no idea of it in the time of Alexander, and only knew it by the reports of thoſe whom trade or curioſity had incited to undertake ſo long and dangerous a voyage. All of them, aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs and rapidity of a river which has not it's equal in Aſia, imagined it was the Piſon, one of the four rivers of the terreſtrial paradiſe. Joſephus is the firſt whom we know to have mentioned this (z), and he has been followed by many fathers of the church, commentators on ſcripture, and modern divines. It is difficult to determine, whether foreigners or Indians have given riſe to this notion. All we know is, that thoſe laſt entertain great reverence for the waters of the Ganges. From a perſuaſion that theſe waters efface all the ſpots of ſin, they go in crowds from the remoteſt parts of the country to waſh there; the reaſon of this is, becauſe they imagine this river does not take it's ſource from the boſom of the earth;

(z) See M. Huet's ſituation of the terreſtrial paradiſe, c. 7.

but

but that it deſcends from heaven into the paradiſe of Devendre, and from thence into Indoſtan. Nothing is more childiſh than the fables related (*a*) by the brachmans on this ſubject. Yet the confidence the people have in them, is what gives theſe fables all their authority. The mogul (*b*) and the king of Golconda, drink no other water but that of the Ganges. Foreigners, on the contrary, pretend it is very unhealthy, and that it cannot be drank unleſs firſt boiled. There are a great number of ſuperb pagods on the banks of this river, ſome whereof are immenſely rich; fruits of the generous ſuperſtition of the Indians, who imagine they honour their gods in proportion to the greatneſs of the gifts they offer up to them. We may judge of the product of theſe offerings by the multitude of the caravans, which continually arrive from all parts. At certain feſtivals, which laſt ſeveral days, there has ſometimes been a concourſe of a hundred thouſand people, who came to bathe. But the great virtue of this river, and the only one which renders it valuable, is that it waſhes down gold in it's ſands; that it throws it on it's bank (*c*); that it is placed in the firſt rank of thoſe rivers which produce precious ſtones; that the gulph of Bengal, into which it diſcharges itſelf, abounds in pearls and valuable ſtones; and that

(*a*) See Abra. Rogers, lives and manners of the bramins, part ii. c. 19.

(*b*) Thev. voyage to the Indies, c. 40. p. 201.

(*c*) Huet, loc. cit.

the Ganges is looked upon as the origin of them.

The country which lies between that river and China is called the peninſula beyond the Ganges; becauſe in effect it ſtretches it's whole length into the ſea. Modern geographers give it five hundred and thirty leagues from north to ſouth, and three hundred and ſixty from eaſt to weſt, it's greateſt breadth. It is divided into three parts: The north, in which are the kingdoms of Azem, Ava, Pegu, Laos, and ſome others little known: The ſouth, which contains that of Siam: The eaſt, which comprehends thoſe of Tonquin, Cochin-China, and Camboia.

The kingdom of Azem lies to the eaſt of the great mogul's dominions, to the north of the kingdom of Ava, and to the weſt of the lake Chiamay. It was hardly known before Mirgimola, general of Aurengezebe (*d*), conquered it about the middle of the laſt century. He undertook this expedition with ſo much the more confidence, as that country had been without any wars for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven hundred years, and the people had entirely neglected the uſe of arms. It was not difficult to conquer ſuch a people. Yet tradition attributes to them the invention of gunpowder, which paſſed from Azem to Pegu, and from Pegu to China, which has given occaſion to ſay, that the Chineſe were the authors of that diſcovery. It is ſaid, that in that war Mirgimola made

(*d*) Tavern. t. iv. p. 189.

prize

prize of ſeveral pieces of cannon which were all of iron.

This kingdom is one of the beſt in Aſia, and produces every thing that is neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of man. Mines of gold, ſilver, ſteel, lead, and iron, are found here, the property of which the king has reſerved to himſelf, on condition he ſhould levy no ſubſidies from his people; and that he may not oppreſs them, he employs none but the ſlaves, he buys from his neighbours, to work them. Thus all the peaſants of Azem are at their eaſe, which is not the caſe with the reſt of the Indians, who have nothing but ſlavery and miſery for their portion, in the midſt of a country where they ought to live in riches and plenty. It is prohibited by the laws to carry gold out of the kingdom, or to coin it into money; the people uſe it in great and ſmall ingots in trade, tho' it is not permitted to be uſed with ſtrangers. It is not the ſame with ſilver. The king cauſes pieces of the bigneſs and weight of roupies, and of an octogon figure, to be coined, which may be tranſported any where.

Altho' the princes reſide in the city of Kemmerouf, about twenty-five or thirty days journey from the ancient capital which bore the ſame name, their own tombs and thoſe of all the royal family are in the city of Azoo, on the banks of the river Laquia. Every prince builds a kind of chapel in the great pagod to ſerve for his burial place. Being perſuaded, that after their death they go into another world, and that

thoſe who die, ſullied by any crime, ſuffer a great deal, chiefly by hunger and thirſt, they place ſomething rare beſide the corps to ſerve them in their neceſſity. The king is interred with thoſe idols of gold and ſilver which he worſhipped in his life-time, a live elephant, twelve camels, ſix horſes, and a great number of hounds, in the belief that all theſe things will be uſeful to him in another world. Barbarity is joined to ſuperſtition in this funeral ſolemnity. At the king's death, the woman whom he has loved beſt, and the principal officers of his houſhold, poiſon themſelves, that they may have the glory of being interred with him, and of ſerving him in a future ſtate. If a private perſon, all his friends and relations muſt aſſiſt at his funeral; and every one muſt throw into the grave the bracelets and other ornaments he wears.

The accounts of thoſe who have travelled the eaſt, give us little or no information about the kingdom of Ava, which is ſaid to be twice as large as that of France. They only tell us, that the immenſe riches of the prince are even diſplayed on his palace, which, tho' of a vaſt extent, is affirmed to be for the moſt part gilded (*e*).

All that hiſtorians relate of the kingdom of Pegu (*f*) is drawn from Gaſpar Balbi, a rich

(*e*) Memoirs of the academy of ſciences, an. 1692, p. 394. edition in 723. Madelſlo, p. 294.

(*f*) Mandelſlo, 292, &c. Dutch voyages, t. iii. p. 24, &c. La Martiniere.

Venetian

Venetian merchant, who traded thither in 1576. According to him, that kingdom had been expoſed to ſeveral revolts, and had been the theatre of a bloody war during all the ſixteenth century. The Peguans are the moſt ſluttiſh and ſuperſtitious of all mankind. They maintain and worſhip crocodiles, and will drink nothing but the water of the ditches where thoſe monſtrous animals harbour, tho' they thus expoſe themſelves to the manifeſt hazard of their lives, and have frequently the misfortune to be devoured. They have five principal feſtivals in the year, which they call ſapans, and celebrate with an extraordinary magnificence. In one of them, the king and the queen make a pilgrimage about twelve leagues from the city, when they make their appearance on a triumphal car, ſo richly adorned with jewels, that it may be ſaid without an hyperbole, that they carry about them the value of a kingdom. This prince is extremely rich, and has in the chapel of his palace ſeveral pagods of an ineſtimable price. One is of a human figure as big as the life, and of maſſy gold, having on it's head a triple crown, adorned with all ſorts of precious ſtones, on the front a ruby as big as a prune, on the two ſides of the head the richeſt pendants that ever were ſeen, and on the belly a ſcarf in the manner of a belt, covered with diamonds and ſtones of an ineſtimable price. Two other pagods of ſilver are by the ſides of the firſt, but are higher by two feet. A fourth paſſes for being the richeſt of them all, both for the quantity of metal and it's

it's ornaments. The fifth is no leſs eſteemed, altho' it is only made of pewter and braſs.

The talapoins, or prieſts of Pegu, are cloathed with a long robe of a red brown, which deſcends to their heels; they do not cover their head, and walk barefooted. They have no poſſeſſions, but beg their bread from houſe to houſe, and eat only once a day; ſuch is the reſpect paid them by the people, that they are never known to want. They have always a little cruiſe of roſe water hanging at their girdle; this liquor is much uſed in the kingdom, even for the ceremonies of religion. They preach every Monday, and explain to the people their laws and traditions. On thoſe days they go thro' the ſtreets making a noiſe, by ſtriking on baſons of white iron, to awaken the inhabitants and call them to ſermon. The heads on which they chiefly inſiſt are, not to commit murder, to take from no perſon any thing belonging to him, to do no hurt, to give no offence, to avoid impurity and ſuperſtition, but above all not to worſhip the devil. But their diſcourſes have no effect on that point. The people attached to manicheiſm believe, that all good comes from God, and that the devil is the author of all the evil that happens to men; and that therefore they ought to worſhip him that he may not afflict them with it. This is a common notion among the Indian idolaters.

According to father Marini (g), the talapoins of the kingdom of Laos, or Lao, are quite dif-

(g) La Martiniere, new account of the kingdom of Laos.

ferent from thoſe of Ava. They are looked upon as the ſcum and dregs of the people, idle, and enemies to labour. Their convents are ſo many colleges and aſſemblies of vicious men, who are governed and blinded by pride, how ſoon they are aſſumed into a body, which in their opinion is the firſt in the ſtate. Nothing can be more ſenſeleſs than the reveries with which they have poſſeſſed the people, and which they give out as the foundation of their religion. This is, that a buffalo or wild ox, which nature had formed with all imaginable defects, produced a gourd full of black and white men; and that there are four gods who have governed the world eighteen thouſand years before it was renewed; and that they afterwards retired into a very large and ſpacious column which was raiſed towards the north, *&c.*

Such viſions, accompanied with corrupted manners, could only render the people as vicious as their prieſts, if the ſeverity of the laws did not put a reſtraint on their licentiouſneſs. The propenſity which the Langians have to paſſion and bloodſhed, has forced their kings to puniſh, not only thoſe who give a blow, but even thoſe who put themſelves in an anger againſt another. Nay, frequently, to inſpire the greater terror, the innocent is involved in the puniſhment of the guilty. If by misfortune the chief of a family is convicted of any great crime, all who belong to him, at whatever degree of affinity, are degraded and deprived of their offices, rights, and privileges. For the future they are

employed

employed in nothing but in the ſervice of the elephants, in gathering graſs for them, and carrying it to the king's ſtables, and in watching them all night. In civil affairs the judge determines, without the parties having liberty to appeal.

There are only eight principal employments and dignities in this kingdom. That of general viceroy is the firſt. His employment conſiſts in taking charge of part of the publick affairs, and aſſiſting the prince in the government. At the king's death, he calls the eſtates together, he diſpoſes of every thing as a ſovereign until a ſucceſſor is choſen, and all are obliged to obey him. The kingdom being divided into ſeven provinces, ſeven other viceroys are appointed, each of whom have equal power in the government entruſted to him. Theſe provinces have their particular militia, who ſubſiſt on the revenues aſſigned to them in time of peace as well as in war.

The kingdom of Laos produces a great quantity of benjoin, of a better kind than what is found any where elſe in the eaſt. It is not known why the ſelling of it to ſtrangers is prohibited. Lacque is likewiſe found here, which is uſed in making Spaniſh wax. It is a kind of earth met with in ſome foreſts lying about Anthills. There is no country where more ivory is to be had; elephants being ſo numerous, that the inhabitants have thence taken their name; for it is ſaid, that the word Langians ſignifies a thouſand elephants. Many kinds of animals,

animals, ſuch as oxen and buffaloes, which are there very common, garden fruits, vaſt quantities of rice, fiſh of an enormous bulk with which the rivers are filled, and ſalt ſpontaneouſly formed of a kind of foam, which the great rains leave upon the earth and is hardened by the ſun, are the other advantages of the kingdom of Laos.

To the ſouth of thoſe countries lies the kingdom of Siam, the moſt famous of all the Indies. The report which our miſſionaries and merchants, about the end of the laſt century, made of the immenſe riches they ſaid they had ſeen in that country, and the diſpoſition the prince was in to embrace chriſtianity, in order to make an alliance with the French, occaſioned different advances on our ſide, with the hiſtory and ſucceſs of which moſt people are well acquainted (*b*). The embaſſadors were deceived; and all the fruit of their voyage was the informing us of ſome particular circumſtances of that kingdom; altho' they have been ſince convicted of error or exaggeration. Frequently they contradict one another; ſometimes themſelves; and in the diverſity of their account it is ſeldom known which to lay hold on. Some, tho' endued with eloquence, ſeem to be at a loſs for words to deſcribe the opulence of the country; while others talk of nothing but the miſery, poverty, and indigence of the inhabitants.

(*b*) See on this head the embaſſy of the chevalier de Chaumont, and the accounts of La Loubere, the abbè de Choiſy, and father Tachard.

The

The Portugueze have given the name of Siam to the capital of the kingdom (*i*), which the natives call *Crung ſi ayn, thaya*, that is to ſay, the excellent city, *Crung teppa ppra ma hà nà kon*; or the admirable, extraordinary and angelick city, becauſe they believe it impregnable. It is indeed built on the river Menan, which means the ſea of waters, and forms an iſland two leagues in circuit. Beſides that the place is every where ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, and that it has within itſelf reſources ſufficient to ſupport a ſiege of many months againſt an army of fifty thouſand ſtrong, it has an infallible ſuccour which never fails: it is this, that the river overflowing every ſix months, there are no lines which it does not carry off, nor army which it does not oblige to retire. By means of thoſe waters, they have made ſeveral canals, which run thro' all the ſtreets without doing any damage; ſo that there are few houſes to which there is not acceſs with a boat. The convenience of tranſporting their effects and landing them quite from the ſea at the magazines, and the other advantages of the kingdom, have drawn traders thither from all parts of the world. At firſt the Portugueze were maſters of the commerce; ſome inſults offered to the Indians and Dutch merchants, gave the latter a pretence to declare themſelves their enemies; they took every opportunity to thwart them in concert with the king of Siam; they ruined the

(*i*) So have Mandelſlo, p. 304, & 331. Tavern. t. iv. l. iii. c. 18.

trade

trade of thoſe who had opened the way to them; and in 1634 they built one of the fineſt lodges they have in all the eaſt. Nevertheleſs the Portugueze were not entirely expelled; they have ſtill houſes there as well as the French, Engliſh, Chineſe, and Moors. The other nations dwell in thoſe two vaſt and rich ſuburbs which lie to the eaſt and weſt of the city; where they encamp each by themſelves.

It is here that ſome of our modern travellers give out, they have ſeen immenſe treaſures of all kinds. The riches of the country are chiefly diſplayed in the pagods, and the prince's palace, by the quantity of workmanſhip in gold, with which it is adorned; by their prodigious bulk, their admirable ſtructure, and the incredible collections of precious ſtones of all kinds.

The magnificence of thoſe pagods ſurpaſſes every thing of that kind that is to be ſeen in the Indies. The moſt celebrated of thoſe temples is that in the king's palace. While the ſpectator is affrighted at finding on one ſide of the portal a cow, and on the other a horrible monſter, the eyes and imagination all at once loſe ſight of thoſe hideous objects, and are dazzled with the ſplendor of the walls, the cieling and pillars, and of an infinite number of figures ſo perfectly gilt, that they ſeem all to be covered with plates of gold. After having advanced ſome ſteps, a ſmall elevation appears in the form of an altar, on which there are four figures of maſſy gold, nearly as big as the life, having all of them their legs placed acroſs in the

the Siameſe manner. Beyond it is a kind of choir, where there is the richeſt pagod or idol of the kingdom; for they give that name indifferently to the idol, or to the temple which contains it. That ſtatue is in a ſtanding poſture, and touches with it's head the vault of the choir; it is about 45 feet in height, and from 7 to 8 in breadth. But what is more aſtoniſhing is, that it is all of gold, and according to a curſory eſtimate ought to weigh above twelve thouſand five hundred pounds weight, which would make a ſum of twelve millions five hundred thouſand livres. It is ſaid, that this rich and prodigious coloſſus was caſt in the ſame place where it is placed, and that afterwards they built the temple about it. At it's ſides there are many others of leſs ſize, which are likewiſe of gold, and enriched with jewels.

An hundred paces from the palace, on the ſouth ſide, there is another temple which is not ſo rich, but whoſe ſtructure is beautiful and regular. This edifice is built in form of a croſs, after the manner of our churches, adorned with five cupolas, of which that in the middle is larger than all the reſt; the roof is covered with a kind of gilded pewter. Forty-four pyramids ſurround and adorn the temple; they are placed with ſymmetry in three rows, and in different ſtories. In the circuit which encloſes thoſe buildings, all along the galleries, there are above four hundred ſtatues of gilded brick, diſpoſed in a beautiful order. The other

front looks towards the ſouth and oppoſite to the temple.

The chief pagod of the city contains near four thouſand idols all gilded, beſides the three principal ones which are of maſſy gold. That which paſſes for the ſecond is ſix leagues from the city, and is only open for the king and the prieſts; the people remain proſtrate before the gate, with their faces at the earth. The third is in the Dutch iſland. The idol in the middle is ſurrounded with above three hundred others of different dimenſions, and in all manner of poſtures.

According to the ſame authors, the prince ſeems to be jealous of the magnificence of his gods. Both the inſide and outſide of his palace exceed the ſplendor of their temples. It is ſituated on a ſmall riſing, and reaches to the banks of the river. Tho' it be large enough to be compared to a city, all it's towers, pyramids, and elevated places are gilded, and ſtrike ſtrangers at a diſtance at their firſt coming to Siam. The apartments of the king and queen contain inconceivable riches; gold and precious ſtones ſhine out on all ſides; there is nothing ſo magnificent in all the eaſt except at China.

Such were the notions which thoſe who accompanied M. de Chaumont in his embaſſy to Siam propagated in France, in the year 1685. But they were partly contradicted by the teſtimony of a celebrated mariner (l), one of the commanders in the Indian ſquadron. This was

(l) Memoirs of Count Forbin.

M. le comte Forbin de Janſon, who ſtaid there two years after the return of the French, in conſequence of the engagements, which, contrary to his inclinations, he had entered into with M. Conſtance, miniſter of the king of Siam. We cannot conceal the manner in which he expreſſes himſelf, in different places of his memoirs, on the riches of this kingdom. Theſe are his words: 'I muſt freely ſay, I have been oftener than once ſurpriſed (*m*), that the abbè de Choiſi and father Tachard who made the voyage with me, and who have ſeen the ſame things as I, ſhould agree to give the publick ſuch a ſplendid repreſentation of the kingdom of Siam, and ſo little conformable to truth. It is true, that having ſtaid there only a few months, and M. Conſtance, miniſter to the king of Siam, having an intereſt to deceive them, they ſaw nothing in that kingdom but what was moſt likely to impoſe on them. But after all, they muſt have been ſtrangely prejudiced not to perceive the miſery that is evident every where, to ſuch a degree that it forces itſelf to the view, and it is impoſſible to avoid obſerving it.

I confeſs that this crafty and deceitful miniſter omitted nothing which could give the French a

(*m*) On this occaſion I enquired into the character of count Forbin of ſome ſea officers who had ſerved with him, and of ſome other perſons who happened to be acquainted with him, and they repreſented him to me to be a plain ſincere man, who had no other fault than to enlarge, perhaps, a little too much, on the glory of his exploits. What is here ſaid can do no prejudice to the regard we ought to entertain for the abbè de Choiſi and father Tachard.

great

great notion of the kingdom. He took care to diſplay to the embaſſadors, the abbè de Choiſi and father Tachard, all the riches of the royal treaſury, which are indeed worthy of a great king, and capable to impoſe upon one. But he forbore to tell them, that that collection of gold, ſilver and jewels, was the work of a long ſucceſſion of kings who had contributed to augment it; it being the cuſtom at Siam (as in the mogul's empire) only to value their kings in proportion as they have enriched the treaſury, while at the ſame time they are not permitted to touch it, whatever neceſſity they may have for it. He carried them to ſee the fineſt pagods of the city and country. They ſaw indeed enormous ſtatues, which they were told were of maſſy gold, and which they believed to be ſo, becauſe they are ſo artfully gilded, that they may eaſily be miſtaken for gold, eſpecially as they cannot be touched, moſt of them being placed on a very elevated ſituation, and the reſt being ſhut up within iron grates which are never opened, and which are not to be approached within a certain diſtance.'

M. Conſtance, who eagerly ſought an alliance with France, endeavoured to ſeduce them by that vain oſtentation, and ſucceeded with the chiefs of the embaſſy. But in the long ſtay which count Forbin made at Siam and Louvo, he had time to diſcover the truth, and to be acquainted with the real miſery which prevails in the country. We may judge of it by that of the mandarins, whom we imagine to be great

and powerful men, becauſe they are the chief of the Siameſe nation.

'The ſituation, ſays he, in which I found thoſe who were at the court of Louvo, ſurprized me extremely. They were ſeated in a circle on mats of ſlender oſier; they had only one lamp before them; and when one of them wanted to read or write, he took the end of a yellow candle out of his pocket; he lighted it at that lamp, and then put it on a piece of wood, which turning from ſide to ſide on a pivot, ſerved them for a candleſtick. This decoration, ſo different from that of the French court, made me aſk of M. Conſtance, if all the grandeur of the mandarins was diſplayed in what I had ſeen? He anſwered it was ſo, and freely own'd that the kingdom was very poor; but added, that my fortune ſhould not ſuffer by it. When I returned to France, I met with the mandarin who had been ſent embaſſador with M. de Chaumont, and I aſked him what difference he found between this country and his own. He anſwered me in broken French, *La France, grand bon; Siam, petit bon:* France, great good; Siam, little good.'

This fortune, with which the miniſter flattered count Forbin, was very moderate, and anſwered but ill the pompous titles beſtowed on him. They gave him a houſe as plain as it was little, whither they ſent thirty-ſix ſlaves to ſerve him, and ſix elephants. The maintaining of his houſhold coſt him only five ſols a day, ſo temperate are the men, and proviſions ſo cheap in

in that country. He himſelf had his table at the miniſter's. His houſe was furniſhed with a few very inconſiderable moveables. They added to it twelve plates of ſilver, and two cups of the ſame metal, but all very thin; four dozen of cotton napkins, and two yellow wax candles a day. 'This was, adds he, all the equipage of the lord high admiral, general of the king's forces.' However, he was obliged to be contented with it.

The account which M. Ceberet gives, who went no farther than Louvo, deſerves likewiſe our attention. 'That which you have ſeen, ſays he, is all that is worth ſeeing. All this kingdom, which is very large, is nothing but a vaſt deſert. In proportion as one advances into the country, nothing is ſeen but foreſts and wild beaſts. The people dwell on the banks of the rivers, and prefer that ſituation to any other, becauſe the lands, which are overflowed ſix months in the year, produce, almoſt without any culture, great quantities of rice, which does not thrive but in water. In this rice conſiſt all the riches of the country. Thus in going up from Barre (this is perhaps Ban-cok) to Louvo, you have ſeen with reſpect to the people, the cities, and the duties they collect, all that can merit any attention in this kingdom.' Oudin, or Joudin, which we know by the name of Siam, is, according to him, hardly to be compared for bigneſs to cities of the fourth or fifth claſs in France. The king goes thither on certain days of ceremony only, and ſtays conſtantly at

Louvo, a houſe of pleaſure at ſeven leagues diſtance.

But the little he ſays of that prince, agrees with what we read in other accounts. Haughtineſs, deſpotiſm, and an abſolute government, are the only marks by which he chuſes to be diſtinguiſhed from all other ſovereigns. The reſpect which he demands of his people reaches almoſt to adoration, and the poſture in which they muſt appear in his preſence is a teſtimony of it. Even in the council, which laſts ſometimes four hours, the miniſters of ſtate, and the mandarins, are continually proſtrated before him. They never ſpeak to him but on their knees, having their hands raiſed to their heads, making at every moment profound reverences, and accompanying their diſcourſe with pompous titles, celebrating his power or his goodneſs. They receive his reſponſes as oracles, and his orders are executed inſtantly and without the leaſt oppoſition. When he goes abroad, all are obliged to keep within doors; and that law ſeemed ſo important, that even the French embaſſadors were ſubjected to it. His ſubjects are ſlaves, who poſſeſs nothing but what belongs to him. Even nobility is not hereditary, conſiſting only in honours and employments which the prince beſtows, and which he may withdraw whenever he pleaſes.

His dominions ſtretch ſouthward to the neighbourhood of Ligor, where the kingdom of Malacca begins (*n*). It is thus that that pen-

(*n*) See La Martiniere and Mandelſlo, p. 334, &c.

inſula or tongue of land is called, which lies between the ſtrait of that name and the gulph of Siam. Some travellers aſſure us, that it is divided into ſeven kingdoms, every one of which may be about ten leagues in breadth, and thirty in length. But dominions ſo inconſiderable do not deſerve to be much inſiſted on, in a work whoſe brevity obliges us to retrench more intereſting narrations of kingdoms more important and better known. This country was diſcovered in 1509, by Seguera; and in 1511, by Alphonſo Albuquerque, who made himſelf maſter of the city of Malacca. The Dutch, ſupported by the forces of the king of Ihor, in 1606, began to diſturb the Portugueze in their poſſeſſion, and after thirty-five years of continual hoſtilities, took it from them in 1641. It is melancholy to add, that this conqueſt was fatal to religion. The jeſuits had a houſe there, reſpectable on account of it's founder, who is believed to have been (*o*) St. Francis Xavier, and of the good which they did there, even by the teſtimony of a Dutch proteſtant (*p*). The conquerors have thrown it down *, and only preſerved the church for the exerciſe of their religion, with a tower where they have hoiſted their flag. They have ſhewn as little reſpect for the church of Miſericordia, which they uſe at preſent for a magazine. It is ſurpriſing that the States have ſuffered the memory of thoſe

(*o*) See Maffey, l. xiv. c 1.
(*p*) The relation of Matelief, collection, t. iii.
* Edifying letters, t. ii. p. 76.

profanations to be revived, by permitting an account of them to be inſerted in a celebrated dictionary printed at the Hague.

The inhabitants of Malacca, or the Malais, are almoſt all ſavages, and live after the manner of beaſts. The heat of the climate in which they dwell, which is almoſt under the line, renders their colour extremely ſwarthy; and they are very fond of Europeans on account of their whiteneſs. As ſoon as they arrive on their coaſts (*q*), they offer them their wives and their daughters that they may have children like them. Notwithſtanding the barbarity of their manners, their language is reckoned the fineſt in all the Indies, where it is at leaſt as common as the French in Europe (*r*). It is very eaſily acquired, becauſe it has no inflections, either in the nouns or the verbs. It is this that renders the Malais very well known in the eaſt, altho' their country is only rich on account of their commerce with the Chineſe. It muſt then have been thro' ignorance or miſtake, that the ancients gave it the name of the Golden Cherſoneſe; or rather it is evident, they did not give it to that kingdom. Yet a modern tells us, that they reckon their riches by bars of gold, and that every bar contains four quintals (*s*).

The firſt kingdom in the eaſtern part of the peninſula beyond the Ganges is that of Cam-

(*q*) Buno, in Cluverium, p. 540.
(*r*) See the examples which Mandelſlo gives, p. 344.
(*s*) P. Lafiteau, conqueſts of the Portugueze, I. v. p. 35.

boia

boia (*t*), which the Hollanders pronounce Camboge, and others Cambodia. It is bounded on the north by that of Laos, on the eaſt by thoſe of Cochin-China, and Ciampa; on the ſouth and weſt by the ſea, and the dominions of the king of Siam. This country, which throughout all it's extent is watered by the river Mecon, produces in abundance all that is neceſſary for the life of man, whether in rice or fleſh, in cocoas, or fruits of all other kinds. Yet it is ill peopled, and the trade carried on here is inconſiderable. Camboia, the capital of the kingdom, is the only city which deſerves notice. The prince reſides in a very ordinary palace, ſurrounded with a paliſade in the form of a partition-wall. But it is defended by a great number of Chineſe cannon, and other pieces of artillery which were ſaved from the wreck of two Dutch veſſels thrown upon the coaſt of this kingdom. There is a temple here of a very particular ſtructure, whoſe beauty is much commended. It is ſupported by wooden pillars varniſhed with black, with gilded foliages and reliefs. Even the pavement is valuable, and is preſerved by mats laid over it. The prieſts who ſerve in it hold the firſt rank in the ſtate. Next to them are the ockinas, to whom the prince grants the government of provinces, cities, and villages. They are diſtinguiſhed by a golden caſket carried before them, in which there are two or three others filled with carda-

(*t*) Dutch voyages, tom. v. p. 252 &c. Mandelſlo, p. 331, &c.

mom,

mom, or other ſpices, with which they rub their lips; and with betel, which they prepare with lime, and are continually chewing. Other perſons of diſtinction in the kingdom can only have ſilver boxes.

The uſe of betel is not peculiar to the people of this country; nothing is ſo common throughout all the Indies, and bread is not more ſo in other places of the world. It is a plant (*u*) which creeps along the ground like peaſe or hops, whoſe ſtalk is very weak, ſo that it muſt be ſupported by a prop, or planted near the tree areca, to which it fixes itſelf like ivy. It's leaf reſembles that of the citron tree, tho' a little longer, it's ſtalks or fibres are alſo ſtronger, and it becomes reddiſh when dried. Betel thrives beſt in watery places, ſuch as the banks of the ſea or rivers. There it bears a fruit ſhaped like a rat's tail; but produces none in climates too hot or too cold. They muſt be contented with the leaf, which is prepared with the fruit of the areca, and a little lime made of oyſter-ſhells.

It is ſeldom that private perſons take the trouble to prepare it themſelves. The great entertain domeſticks for that purpoſe; and others buy it ready made. It is to be had in moſt of the ſhops, at all the corners of the ſtreets, and even on the highways. The leaves, ready prepared, are ſold in parcels by

(*u*) Embaſſies of the Dutch to China, part ii. c. 13. p. 85. Embaſſy to Japan, part i. p. 29. Dutch voyages, tom. i. p. 78. Mandelſlo, p. 108. Corn. Le Brun, p. 347.

the

the dozen at a very moderate price. Both ſexes eat them all hours of the night and day; and there are none who do not uſe two or three dozen in the twenty-four hours. But the rich alone can afford to mix fruit with it.

You never ſee an Indian almoſt without betel in his mouth. As ſoon as any one goes into a houſe on buſineſs, or to make a viſit, it is brought and preſented to the company by way of compliment; it is uſed even before their kings. When foreign embaſſadors are admitted to an audience of the king, they find him commonly repoſing on his couch, or ſeated croſs-legged on the ground on a carpet, having an officer in waiting, who holds his betel, which he chews continually, throwing out the huſks and the ſpittle it produces. The greateſt honour he can do them, is to invite them to taſte his betel.

It's natural effect is to occaſion a plentiful ſpitting red as blood, and to make the teeth black. But the Indians, who are habituated to it from their infancy, and have taken ſuch a liking to it, that they cannot keep from it, attribute to it many other properties and particular virtues. They ſay it faſtens the gums, preſerves the teeth, makes the breath ſweet, is good for the ſtomach, promotes digeſtion, prevents wind and vomiting, to which they are very ſubject, and laſtly, prevents the ſcurvy. Notwithſtanding all thoſe real or imaginary properties, there are few Europeans who can accuſtom themſelves to it. To many it occaſions

caſions ſickneſs, and others it perfectly intoxicates, altho' that does not laſt long. It is on this account, that the Indian women, who, almoſt every where are extremely amorous, preſs them much to taſte it, and eat of it in their preſence to exceſs in order to provoke them. The Portugueze women, who are ſtill more ſo, ſollicit them as eagerly, when they can get from the preſence of their huſbands, which is but ſeldom.

The areca, which is uſed with the leaves of the betel, proceeds from a tree nearly reſembling the cocoa in height and ſhape, except that it's trunk is ſmaller, and it's leaves ſhorter. From below theſe laſt there proceeds a long maſs, which forms a bunch or parcel of fruit like nuts or apricocks; the flower is likewiſe mixed among the fruit. Two months after that is fallen off, the huſks which envelop the fruit of the areca begin to open and drop off. Then an oblong fruit appears, of the bulk of a prune, of a whitiſh and ſhining colour; it's ſhell becomes firm, compact, and reddiſh; the pulp which it contains is of a brown caſt bordering on red, ſoft and aſtringent to the taſte; it's nut reſembles a nutmeg, and contains a white kernel. The Indians prepare the pulp or kernel of this fruit with the leaves of the betel, dividing a nut into eight or ten parts.

But we return to the topography. South-eaſt of the kingdom of Camboia lies that of Ciampa; but ſo ſmall that it has not merited the

the particular attention of travellers, and we are not ſo much as acquainted with it's capital.

It is bounded on the north by the deſerts of Cochin-China, another kingdom of which authors have given us a notion more ſplendid than real. The abbè Choiſi has in his journal a long and pleaſing deſcription of the militia, the marriages, the funerals, and ſome other cuſtoms of the Cochin-Chineſe. But it would be requiſite to know whence he has drawn his materials. It could not be from the inhabitants of Siam, where he ſtaid not long enough to learn the language and writing of the country, and much leſs an exact account of the neighbouring kingdoms. It can as little be ſaid, that he went into Cochin-China, ſince it is known that he reimbark'd with the reſt of the fleet; and he confeſſes elſewhere, that the waters of that country are ſo bad that no European can uſe them without danger of his life, which prevents the miſſionaries from going thither.

To convince the reader that this relation is not groundleſsly ſuſpected, it will not be amiſs to lay before him ſome paſſages, that he may judge for himſelf. 'Nothing (*x*), ſays that elegant author, is ſo fine as the gallies of the Cochin-Chineſe. All without is of a black varniſh, and within of a red, ſhining like a mirror. Every one has ſixty oars, and they are all gilded. The rowers, who are likewiſe ſoldiers, have at their feet a muſket, a poniard, a bow and quiver. They are forbid, on pain of death,

(*x*) Journal of the voyage to Siam, p. 359. quart. edit. 1687.

to

to utter ſo much as a word. They muſt always keep their eyes on the commander, who delivers his orders by the motion of a wand. Every thing is ſo nicely adjuſted, that a maſter of muſick when he beats time, does not make himſelf better underſtood by all his muſicians. — The ſailors commonly wear nothing but drawers of white ſilk, and a hair cap; but when they prepare for battle, they put on their heads a ſmall gilded head-piece, and on their body a fine cloſe coat. They have the right arm, ſhoulder, and ſide entirely naked. (Of what ſhape can this cloſe coat be?) The land army conſiſts of thirty thouſand men. The king's houſhold of nine thouſand, and the firſt prince's of five.—The guards of the king and prince are cloathed in velvet, and have arms of gold and ſilver; the officers are more or leſs magnificent according to their degrees; and on the day of battle, or a review, the common ſoldiers are cloathed in an uniform of green, red, or yellow ſatin, &c.' There are few romances filled with ſuch marvellous deſcriptions. It gives pain to be obliged to confeſs, that our nation is apter than any others to be dazzled with ſuch fine chimeras. The imagination which produces them, perſuades itſelf that they give the laſt grace to a ſubject already curious of itſelf, and on the contrary they render it contemptible in the eyes of men of ſenſe, who find truth never ſo beautiful as when it is entirely naked, as an ancient author ſays, and diveſted of all vain ornaments.

On

On this account we ought to prefer the ſimple and ingenuous account of father Alexander of Rhodes, a jeſuit, and famous miſſionary, who preached the goſpel with ſucceſs in Cochin-China. This kingdom (*y*), according to him, was formerly a province of China, and it was ſeparated from it two centuries ago by the revolt of a governor ſent thither by the king of Tonquin, who cauſed himſelf to be declared king. There is no country in the torrid zone wherein the four ſeaſons are better diſtinguiſhed. Altho' the rivers are not conſiderable, yet they are the ſource of it's plenty. During the months of September, October, and November, they riſe every fifteen days, overflow all the fields for three days, and render them ſo fertile by their ſlime, that they can ſow and reap twice a year. The ſoil produces rice, ſeveral ſorts of fruits and herbs, pepper, cinnamon, benjoin, eagle and calemba wood. Gold, ſilver, ſilk, cotton, and porcelain, are likewiſe to be found here. Amongſt other rare animals are rhinoceros's and elephants of an extraordinary ſize and ſurpriſing docility. The ſea abounds with excellent fiſh. There are ſixty good harbours, which occaſion the inhabitants to apply themſelves much to trade and navigation. That of Faïfo is one of the moſt conſiderable. The city is inhabited by Chineſe and Japoneſe, who carry on a free trade under the protection of the prince. It is defended by a fortreſs, and ſituated on a navigable river a little above it's

(*y*) Travels, p. 60, &c.

mouth.

mouth. The ſeeds of chriſtianity, which were ſown here by the zeal of the dominican miſſionaries, were favourably received, and the people had begun in ſeveral places to lay aſide their ſuperſtitions. But the prince and the grandees of the kingdom, being blindly attached to idolatry, raiſed a violent perſecution againſt the new chriſtians, and ſtopt the riſing progreſs of the goſpel by the dread of puniſhment.

Northward of Cochin-China lies the kingdom of Tonquin, the laſt we have to ſpeak of on the continent of the Indies. The voyages to this place which religion and commerce have given occaſion to, have procured us a very circumſtantial knowledge of the government and nature of this country. Tavernier, who has given an ample account of it, affirms (*z*), that he has taken more pains to inform himſelf about this, than any other of the eaſtern kingdoms thro' which he travelled; the means he employed could not fail to give him an exact knowledge of it, and what he ſays bears all the marks of truth. Tonquin had been hitherto ſubject to the vaſt empire of China (*a*), when a famous robber, called Din, put himſelf at the head of a body of men of his own profeſſion, into whom he inſpired the reſolution of taking up arms, and throwing off the yoke of ſervitude. He ſucceeded, and thoſe whom he had engaged in the revolt, out of gratitude

(*z*) Travels, t. v c. 1.
(*a*) Travels, c. 11.

placed

placed the crown upon his head. The happineſs which the Tonquineſe flattered themſelves to have acquired by their independence, became to them a ſource of miſeries and cruel wars, ſtill more pernicious than their ancient ſubjection to the Chineſe emperors. For ſeven centuries after their revolt, they have been almoſt continually in arms, one againſt another, in ſupport of the different factions which ambition and jealouſy have raiſed up among them; and the families on the throne have been already changed ſix times.

The iſſue of the laſt civil war was a treaty, by which the competitor of the king Lé, leſs deſirous of the title of ſovereign than of real power and royal authority, left him all the external ſplendor of a monarch, on condition he ſhould have the abſolute command in the armies, with the greateſt part of the revenues of the kingdom, and that their deſcendants ſhould ſucceed to the ſame privileges. By virtue of this agreement there are two ſorts of kings; he who receives the honours of royalty is called bua; and the choua has all it's advantages. The bua, ſenſible of the diminution of his power, is ſeldom ſeen out of his palace. He is taken up almoſt every day in giving audience to his ſubjects, hearing their complaints, and determining their private differences; which is the utmoſt extent of his power, for he can ſet forth no act or edict concerning the publick government, without the conſent of the choua. The princes his ſons partake of his ſervitude.

They never go out of the palace but four times a year; and that only ſix days each time, and they are beſides attended by officers whom the choua appoints for them. In the firſt of thoſe ſix days of liberty, they viſit the temples; in the two following, they take the diverſion of hunting; and during the three laſt, they ſail upon the river in gallies magnificently adorned. The right of primogeniture does not regulate the ſucceſſion to the crown; the will of the father decides it in favour of him whom he loves or eſteems moſt. As ſoon as he is declared, the choua, followed by his principal officers, the counſellors of ſtate, and the eunuchs, do him homage, and take an oath to place him on the throne after his father's death.

It would be tedious to give an account of the pomp and magnificence of all the ceremonies at his funeral. During the ſixty-five days following his deceaſe, he is ſerved as if ſtill alive (*b*), and proviſions are diſtributed amongſt the bonzes and the poor. The whole nation puts on mourning, and every one wears it according to his rank: the mandarins of the army and juſtice, for three years, the king's houſhold nine months, the nobleſſe ſix, and the people three. Theſe three years are times of ſadneſs, during which no rejoicings are allowed, except at the coronation of the ſucceeding prince. The cuſtom is to carry the body of the dead king into the deſerts lying beyond Bodego. It is two days journey from Keco, the capital of the

(*b*) Travels, tom. v. c. xiv.

kingdom,

kingdom, to that city. But becauſe the king and all the court go thither on foot, it takes them up fifteen or ſixteen days. All the road is covered with a ſtuff of a violet colour, and at every quarter of a league there are places for refreſhment. The choua takes care that there ſhall be lodgings for every day. In the midſt of an immenſe and magnificent retinue of officers, horſes and elephants, is the chariot which carries the prince's coffin, which is drawn by eight harts, train'd for that purpoſe. After the corps comes to Bodego, it is put into a galley, and is attended only by the ſix principal eunuchs of the court, who inter it in a remote place, after having obliged themſelves by oath never to reveal it. This ſecrecy is, perhaps, an article of religion, or a precaution to prevent the treaſures buried with him from being carried off, which they imagine he may have occaſion for in the other world. It is ſaid, that the princes and princeſſes order themſelves to be buried near him, out of a principle of gratitude, and that they may continue to render him their ſervices.

After this funeral ceremony, comes on the coronation of the new king, which diffuſes pleaſures and diverſions over the city of Keco and the country about. He is carried (c) upon an elephant into the great court of the palace, which is covered with rich tapeſtries in form of a tent, and there he receives the oath of fidelity from the great men of the kingdom, to whom

(c) Travels, tom. v. c. 13.

he makes a preſent of ſeveral cakes of gold, worth about a hundred piſtoles, and ſmall bars of ſilver, the only money uſed in this country. Afterwards a large camp is erected in the midſt of a vaſt plain along the river Chalè. The king goes thither with all the officers of his houſhold, and a great part of the army, and there receives the oaths of the deputies of his kingdom, and of the people. One half of the month paſſes away in rejoicings, every day is remarkable for the diverſity of feſtivals, and the generoſities of the prince; even the darkneſs of the night is not unemployed, for then they furniſh new amuſements by letting off continual fire-works, which are ſaid to be infinitely finer and more curious than thoſe we have in Europe.

This particular ſpecies of dexterity is a conſequence of the emulation which the kings of Tonquin, like thoſe of China, have ſown amongſt their ſubjects, in order to refine and improve all the ſciences. Nobility, with ſuitable revenues (*d*), is the reward of thoſe who excel in the knowledge of the laws, of mathematicks, aſtronomy, and natural philoſophy. Several days in the year are ſet apart for the examination of thoſe who preſent themſelves, and ſometimes there are near three thouſand candidates. The king honours this ceremony with his preſence; he confers nobility on thoſe who have given ſatisfaction to the queſtions of the mandarins; he cauſes a robe of violet ſattin to be given them, and appoints the cities and villages

(*d*) Travels, tom. v. c. 9.

which

which are to produce the rents which he aſſigns them.

The phyſicians are another claſs of the learned, and much eſteemed. All their ſtudy is to know the ſimples, and to apply them according to the different diſtempers (*e*). They have infallible remedies for the epilepſy, the purple, and other diſeaſes, which are thought to be incurable in Europe. They make much uſe of tea in the cure of pains in the head, the ſtone, and colicks. This herb is brought from China, and Japan, but the latter is moſt in eſteem.

Where the arts flouriſh it ſeldom happens that the manners of the people are rough and unpoliſhed. The Tonquineſe are affable (*f*), and naturally formed to the laws of reaſon. The gravity, and modeſty of their garb, ſhews their character. Both ſexes are cloathed almoſt in the ſame manner: their dreſs is a long robe, pretty ſtrait, with a cloſe neck, reaching down to the heels, with a ſilken belt of gold and ſilver tiſſue; but the military dreſs comes no farther than the knees. It is the common cuſtom of the country to walk barefooted all the year. The Tonquineſe ladies are as modeſt and reſerved as the common women are libertine in their conduct. They wear a ſort of hat, the borders of which are extremely large and ſolid; it is made of the leaves of a tree growing in that country, which they dreſs

(*e*) Idem. c. 10.

(*f*) Travels, tom. v. c. 6. Father Marini the jeſuit's account of Tonquin, c. 4. and the account of the French biſhops.

for that purpoſe. This kind of umbrella is adorned within with a net work of thread curiouſly wrought. They wear their hair as long as it will grow, like the men, and dreſs it with great care; whereas the men tie it under the neck, or leave it looſe behind, eſpecially the mandarins and learned men. They are of a ſtrong and hardy conſtitution; their ſtature is not extraordinary, but well proportioned, and they have juſt and agreeable features. Thoſe who live in the cities are rather white than brown, but the country people, on the contrary, are almoſt all olive-coloured. All of them are indefatigable in whatever buſineſs they apply to. They have a juſt judgement, and are capable of long application. Nature has bleſt them with ſo happy a memory, that, perhaps, there is nation no which ſurpaſſes them. Whatever they ſtudy or write, all is done finging, in order to imprint it better on their minds. They ſtill make uſe of lunar months. The lower people are ſlaves during one part of the year; for, except the citizens of Keco, all tradeſmen whatever are obliged to work three months for the royal family, and two more for the mandarins and great lords. One of their moſt laborious employments is to lop the trees to feed the elephants belonging to the king and the army.

Their principal riches conſiſt in great quantities of ſilk, muſk, and aloes wood, which they ſell to foreigners. They value themſelves much on their fairneſs in trade; which is the more ſurpriſing, as they are neighbours to the Chi-

neſe, and have frequent dealings with that cunning people, who are verſed in all manner of deceit. The Tonquineſe having no mines of gold or ſilver, coin no money. They make uſe of foreign money, or ſmall plates of gold, ſuch as they come from China, which differ in their value; or, laſtly, of ſilver bars, which they cut in pieces, and weigh according to the prices of what they purchaſe. On this account they always carry a ſmall pair of ſcales about with them.

Theſe are the advantageous lights in which the Tonquineſe appear. But when we caſt our eyes on their worſhip, the ſcene is changed, nothing is to be ſeen but error, impiety, and extravagant ſuperſtition. Of the three ſects into which they may be divided, that of a certain hermit, called Chacabout, would be the only reaſonable one, by the obſervation of the precepts of the natural law, of which he has made ten expreſs commandments, if it was not corrupted by imaginations and chimeras founded on the metempſychoſis, and if it did not bring up it's followers in idolatry. The ſecond, is that of the philoſopher Confucius, who came into the world four or five centuries before Chriſt, and whoſe memory is ſo famous thro' all China, and the neighbouring ſtates. The doctrine of his books, as explained by the learned men of the country, is nothing but idolatry, or, perhaps, a refined atheiſm, which acknowledges no other god than the heavens or virtue, and ſuppoſes, that the human ſoul evaporates

porates into air at death. The third ſect is that of Lanthu, originally a Chineſe, who bent his whole ſtudy on enchantments and the impoſtures of magick, which he unhappily rendered reſpected by a falſe outſide of zeal and charity for the poor. The moſt part of the bonzes, or Tonquineſe prieſts, offer no ſacrifice, and give no reſponſes till they have conſulted the devil, by magick ceremonies, or what are ſuppoſed to be ſuch.

SECT. IV.

The principal iſlands of the Indies.

THE iſlands which have been diſcovered in the Indian ocean within theſe two centuries are ſo numerous, and of ſuch extent, that were they joined together in one continent, they would make a fifth part of the world almoſt equal to Europe. The great trade carried on in them, the riches and the ſpiceries which they produce, will not permit us to paſs them over in ſilence. But it will be ſufficient to inſiſt only on the principal ones. We ſhall divide them into three claſſes, thoſe on the eaſt, thoſe on the weſt, and thoſe in the middle.

The Maldives were the firſt iſlands which the European navigators diſcovered on their arrival in the Indies; the moſt northern of which are reckoned to be fifty leagues diſtant from Cape Comorin. An author ſays *(b)* they can be ſeen

(b) Mandelſlo p. 284.

from

from this promontory. They begin at the eighth degree of north, and extend to the fourth of ſouth latitude: which gives them two hundred leagues in length; but they are not above thirty, or thirty-five, in their greateſt breadth. This ſpace contains ſuch a prodigious multitude of iſlands, that their number cannot be fixed. Ptolemy ſays (*i*) that in his time, that is, in the ſecond century, they were reckoned to be thirteen hundred and ſeventy-eight. If we believe the inhabitants, he knew only a ſmall number of them; and the prince, who is their ſovereign, takes the title of ſultan, king of thirteen provinces, and twelve thouſand iſlands. There is doubtleſs pride and exaggeration in this pompous title, ſavouring of oriental vanity; ſince it is certain that every day ſome of them are loſt by currents, tempeſts, or high tides.

In this multitude there are a great number uninhabitable (*k*). Some are covered only with herbs and barren trees; others have no verdure, and are nothing but moving ſand; theſe laſt diſappear with the flux of the tide, and the firſt are all covered with crabs, large ſea lobſters, or penguins, an amphibious ſort of bird, as big as a gooſe, but without feathers. The deſert iſlands, and even thoſe which are habitable, are extremely ſmall, ſince Male, the moſt ſpacious of them, and the place of the king's reſidence, is only a league and a half in circumference. They

(*i*) Geogr. l. viii.
(*k*) Fran. Pirard, deſcrip. of the Maldives.

are

are divided into thirteen provinces or diviſions, which the inhabitants call Attolons. They are ſeparated from one another by a ſtrait or canal, which it's narrowneſs, rocks, or banks of ſand, frequently render inacceſſible to merchant ſhips. It is wonderful how nature has fortified theſe iſlands againſt the moſt impetuous torrents, by ſurrounding them with rocks, which ſerve them as a rampart, againſt which the waves daſh themſelves in vain. They have notwithſtanding four openings oppoſite to one another, which ſerve them for harbours, according to the difference of the ſeaſons.

From the ſituation of thoſe iſlands in the middle of the torrid zone, it may be imagined that the heat is exceſſive. The days and nights are equal, and the nights being always extremely cool, are attended with a plentiful dew. The coolneſs which reſults from hence, is the cauſe that the warmth of the day is more eaſily ſupported, that vegetables thrive here as well as in temperate climates, and that the trees produce fruit, notwithſtanding the heats of the ſun. The winter begins in April, and laſts ſix months; the ſummer comes on in October. Winter, in theſe iſlands, is not occaſioned by froſt and ſnow, which are not known here; but by the rains which fall continually, and the impetuous winds which blow from the weſt. But in ſummer it never rains, and the wind is always at eaſt. The ſoil is as fertile as can be wiſhed for in ſuch things as it produces; which are, millet, pulſe of various kinds, and chiefly cocoa nuts; there

there is no country in the world where that fruit is ſo fine and plentiful. As this alone is ſufficient for all the neceſſities of man, the expence of living in the Maldives is almoſt nothing. Oranges, citrons, and pomegranates, are no leſs common here. Black and green amber is alſo found, as alſo black coral, and ſmall white ſhells, ſo very beautiful, that they paſs for money in many parts of the Indies; and laſtly, tortoiſe ſhells of ſuch a prodigious bulk, that ten or a dozen men may eaſily ſit in one of them; but ſuch as are from four to ſix feet in diameter are blackeſt and moſt eſteemed.

The ſmall profits to be made here, has been the reaſon why none but the Portugueze have been deſirous to eſtabliſh themſelves in thoſe iſlands. Their admiral Soarez diſcovered them in 1507, he made an alliance with the king of the country *(l)*, which was confirmed by Segueira, who aſked leave to build a fortified magazine at Male, according to cuſtom. He obtained it without difficulty from the prince, who was gained by the preſents he had received, and hoped to draw great advantages from an union with a nation then ſo famous. Gomez built the fort on the ſea-ſide, of wood and earth, having neither ſtone nor lime to make it more ſolid. But ſcarce was his work compleated, when truſting too much to the reputation of the Portugueze, and to the friendſhip he had contracted with the prince, he ſhewed a diſpoſition to rule over the foreigners, as well as over the

(l) Maffey, l. vii. c. 7.

natives

natives of the country, and to give the law in matters of commerce. The mahometans plotted ſecretly againſt him; they attacked the fort ſuddenly when he had only fifteen or twenty ſoldiers with him; they killed him, and made themſelves maſters of the place. Thus the Portugueze, by their own fault, loſt that eſtabliſhment as quickly as they acquired it. The ſame thing happened to them in many other places of the Indies.

Gomez was the more blameable, as the Maldivians are eaſy to be dealt with. They apply themſelves to all manner of manufactures, and excel in them, as well as in letters and the ſciences, at leaſt according to their faſhion. They hold aſtronomy in great eſteem. They are moreover prudent and ſedate, ſkilled in commerce, valiant and courageous, expert in the management of arms, and there reigns amongſt them a well regulated police. They are of an olive complexion, like the reſt of the ſouthern Indians, and ſmall of ſtature, but well proportioned. Moſt of them go quite naked, except in what modeſty requires to conceal. The mahometan religion is commonly profeſſed in this country; and when an iſlander has made a voyage to Mecca, he has the privilege of wearing a long beard in ſign of his ſanctity. The king's chief revenue conſiſts in the fifth of the fruits which his ſubjects gather, and what they can ſave from veſſels ſhipwrecked on their coaſts. The allurement of this ſort of gain has rendered them

them ſurpriſingly dextrous in recovering merchant goods from the bottom of the ſea.

The iſland known to the ancients under the name of Taprobane, and which they looked upon as the plentiful ſource of all ſorts of riches and curious merchandize, is that which we now call Ceylon or Ceylan. A learned man *(m)* of the laſt age is of opinion, that this was the country of Ophir and Tarſis, with whoſe treaſures Solomon's fleets were loaded. It's inhabitants formerly called it Lamca or Lamcab (*n*), which ſignifies a terreſtrial paradiſe, or holy land; a name given it by it's former king Vigia Raïa, who is thought to have lived 500 years before Chriſt. Afterwards it was called Ilanare, or Tranate, that is to ſay, the Inſular kingdom. It is likewiſe called Hebenaro, or the fertile land, and Tenariſim, which ſignifies a place of delight. The Arabians call it Serindib *(o)*.

This country, according to a traveller *(p)* who had ſeen a great part of the world, is the moſt delightful and fertile of all thoſe he had ever ſeen. An infinite number of animals are found here, ſome whereof are uſeful to man, and others ſeem only made to adorn nature, pleaſe the eyes, and ſatisfy curioſity. The Cingales, or Chingulais, have cows, buffaloes (*q*), hogs, harts, does, hares,

(*m*) Bochart, Phaleg & Geograph. ſacr.

(*n*) Du Bois, p. 682. La Martiniere.

(*o*) Ancient Arabian accounts tranſlated by the abbé Vertot.

(*p*) Van den Broeck. collection of dutch voyages, t. iv. p. 362.

(*q*) Robert Knox's account of Ceylon, t. i. p. 52. This work was written originally in Engliſh, but the curious things contained in it have cauſed it to be tranſlated into French, in 2 vols. twelves.

dogs,

dogs, apes, tigers, boars, elephants, aſſes, and horſes; but their ſoil is not proper for feeding of ſheep. Their elephants are more eſteemed than any other in the Indies, not only on account of their prodigious bulk, and the beauty of their ivory, but alſo for their remarkable docility. It is ſaid to have been found by experience, that thoſe of other countries acknowledge their ſuperiority (r), and do them obeiſance when they meet them. They uſe no other animals but theſe in the carriage of hogſheads and other ſuch burthens. The elephant takes hold of the rope with his trunk and his teeth, he draws it, twiſts it about, throws the load on his back and ſo goes off with it. He draws with equal eaſe, a half galley, or caravel, on dry ground. The apes, with which the foreſts are filled, are as ſurpriſing as they are common (s). There is a particular kind of them, called in the language of the country, ouran outang, that is to ſay, wild men. They have nearly the ſhape and ſtature of man, and appear to have ſome ſhare of his intelligence. They have hair only on the back and reins. They are nimble, ſtrong, and bold; they put themſelves in a poſture of defence againſt armed hunters; they are paſſionately fond of women, who cannot in ſafety go thro' he woods where they are. The Cingales take them with gins, tame them, and teach them to walk on their hinder feet, employing their fore-

(r) Dutch voyages, t. ii. p. 256. Le Brun. ch. 63. Tavernier, t. iv. p. 225. and others.

(s) Du Bois, p. 682.

feet

ſeet in other ſervices, ſuch as wiping the glaſſes, pouring out liquor, turning the ſpit, and ſuch little offices. Nature in Ceylon ſhews an equal fecundity in the number of different birds ſhe produces, for the moſt part unknown elſewhere, and admirable on account of their voice and plumage.

This variety of animals is no leſs uſeful in life, than agreeable in the view of the country; yet this does not conſtitute it's riches. Theſe conſiſt in the different kinds of ſpices and precious ſtones, all which, except diamonds, are found here in abundance. It is pretended there are mines of gold, which the king of Candi will not ſuffer to be opened, for fear of exciting the avarice of the Europeans. Beſides an infinite number of trees, plants, and fruits, of which we only know the barbarous names (*t*), and which all contribute to the ornament and advantage of the country, it produces every thing found elſewhere. Rice, ſugar, tobacco, pepper, ginger, and cardamum, grow here in abundance. There are whole foreſts of oranges, citron, clove, and cinnamon trees. The laſt eſpecially are ſo common and ſo perfect in their kind, that the ſmell of them ſpreads eight leagues round; the quintal of the country, which is 128 pounds, is worth only forty ſous. This is a tree of an ordinary ſize, the leaves whereof reſemble thoſe of the laurel, both in colour and in thickneſs. When they begin to bud, they are as red as ſcarlet; and when rubbed in the hands, they ſmell more of

(*t*) Vid. Knox, t. i. p. 35. & le Brun, p. 201, & ſeq.

the

the clove than of cinnamon. The tree bears a fruit like a ſmall acorn. By boiling, they draw from it an oil which ſwims in water, which afterwards congeals, and forms a kind of white wax, a little ſofter than ours. It's ſmell is very agreeable, and is burnt in lamps; but I know not why the candles made of it are uſed only by the king. The bark of the cinnamon tree is moſt valuable. This is what we call cinnamon. When the Indians gather it, it is white; and becomes reddiſh after it has been expoſed in the ſun in order to harden it. It is taken only from the ſmall trees, tho' that of the great ones is of as ſweet a ſcent, and of as ſtrong a taſte as the other. Pepper, more uſed among us than cinnamon, grows upon a ſmall ſhrub, in cluſters about half a foot long, all covered over with berries. Some of it's leaves reſemble thoſe of the orange-tree, others are longer. There are ſeveral kinds of pepper-trees, the detail of which belongs rather to the natural philoſopher than to the hiſtorian (*u*).

The Portugueze, informed of the advantages which might be drawn from this iſland, landed here in 1506 (*x*), under the conduct of Laurence Almeida. That admiral took poſſeſſion of it in the name of Emanuel, king of Portugal, by erecting a column with an inſcription, importing that it had no maſter; altho' at the ſame time he treated with one of the kings of

(*u*) See the firſt voyage of the Dutch, t. i. p 272, et ſeq.

(*x*) Maffey, l. vii. c. 5. & l. viii. Mandelſlo, p. 272, &c. Collection of Dutch voyages, t. ii. from p. 495 to 516.

Ceylon,

Ceylon, promiſing him the protection of Emanuel, on condition of a yearly acknowledgement of two thouſand five hundred quintals of cinnamon. The Dutch, jealous of ſo lucrative an eſtabliſhment, began in 1602 to make attempts to take it from them. The violence they exerciſed rendered them as odious to the Cingales, as the Portugueze already were on the ſame account. But they accompliſhed their deſigns fifty-five years afterwards. They declared a cruel war againſt the Portugueze; they drove them from the places they had fortified and poſſeſſed for a hundred and fifty years before; they ſeized on the cities of Colombo and Negombo; they placed a garriſon in the fort of Punto Gallo; they made themſelves abſolute maſters of the coaſts and harbours, but did not enter into the dominions of the king of Candi, who poſſeſſes the middle of the iſland; and they are ſo anxious to engroſs the trade of Ceylon, that they ſuffer no foreign veſſels to approach it *(y)*.

Thus they divided the whole iſland with the king of Candi. That prince is formidable to his ſubjects, by the abſolute empire he has over their poſſeſſions, their actions, and their lives. The Cingales *(z)* are prohibited to ſearch for topazes, rubies, ſaphires, granates, and cryſtal, which they might eaſily find in the greateſt part of their mountains; as alſo to have them by them, or to trade in them; thoſe who venture it run

(y) Lullier, p. 26.

(z) Dutch voyages, t. ii. p. 509. Mandelſlo, p. 182. Ancient accounts, p. 103.

the riſk of death if diſcovered. Thoſe only whom the prince appoints are allowed to ſearch for precious ſtones, or to gather them if thrown by torrents or ſtorms upon the high-ways and ſtreets, unleſs they carry them to him immediately, or put them into the hands of his officers. The motives of this policy, and why he ſuffers the riches of his kingdom to be buried in this manner, are not known.

Three kinds of religion regulate the worſhip of all the country. The king follows the mehometan, with part of his ſubjects; others are idolaters like the reſt of the Indians, and much attached to the metempſychoſis; and throughout all the Dutch dominions (*a*) thoſe two religions, with the proteſtant, are alone permitted, for the catholick is prohibited under ſevere penalties. One of their writers (*b*) informs us that they have introduced theirs by the care of the miniſters they maintain there; that they have converted many thouſand ſouls, and have even founded a college in order to inſtruct the youth of the country. This is then the ſecond time their creed has been altered. We read in Coſmas the traveller, that in the ſixth century, there were flouriſhing churches in that iſland, eſtabliſhed by the apoſtles and their ſucceſſors. But that light was extinguiſhed by the perſecution of the mahometans, more formidable enemies to the chriſtian name than pagans themſelves. The

(*a*) Corneille Le Brun, p. 163.
(*b*) Du Bois, p. 683.

miſſionaries

miſſionaries the Portugueze carried there dedicated all their zeal to it's revival, and they already began to ſee the comfortable effects of their labours, when the Dutch ſeized on the iſland, and ſubſtituted inſtead of the ancient dogma's, the new errors of calviniſm.

Whether Solomon ſent ſhips into this iſland, or private Jews traded thither, it is held for certain that the principles of revelation were known to the Cingales many ages before Jeſus Chriſt. Here follows what has given riſe to this opinion. In the ſouthern part of the iſland, about twenty leagues from the ſea, on the ſide of Punto Gallo (c), there is a vaſt plain, in the middle of which is a mountain covered with a fine turf, whence proceeds a rock which riſes to the height of a quarter of a league in a pyramidal form, but ſo rugged, that it cannot be aſcended but by means of an iron chain which hangs from top to bottom. It is reckoned that it is two leagues from the plain to the topmoſt ſummit, but the way ſo bad, that ſetting out early in the morning, one cannot arrive thither till two hours after mid-day. The height is ſo prodigious, that the ſailors begin to deſcry it twenty leagues out at ſea. Tho' the ſummit of the rock appears like a point viewing it from the bottom of the plain, yet it forms a terraſs two hundred paces in diameter, in the middle of which there is a large and very deep lake, containing the beſt water in the

(c) Ribero, hiſt of Ceylon, p. 172. Ancient accounts, p. 3, and 134. Robert Knox.

world. From thence proceed ſeveral rivulets, which fall in torrents along the mountain; and after being reunited, form three great rivers in the plain. Near the lake is a large ſtone, on which is the print of a man's foot, two palms in length, and eight inches in breadth, as perfectly engraved as if it had been in wax. The Cingales are perſuaded that it is a veſtige of the firſt man, and therefore have called that mountain Hamalel, or *Adam's mountain*, which the French have tranſlated, by the *pike*, *point*, or *ſtep of Adam*. The people believe that the firſt man was created here (*d*), that the lake aroſe from the tears which Eve ſhed at Abel's death, and that Ceylon was part of the terreſtrial paradiſe. This tradition came from the king Vigia Raïa, who we have ſaid lived according to the common opinion, 500 years before Chriſt, and gave the name of *Holy land* to the iſland. This notion could only have come by the channel of the Jews. But the pagans have abuſed thoſe firſt rays of light, which might have conducted them to the truth. They frequently make pilgrimages, and carry their offerings to this mountain: and the prieſts intereſted to keep up their ſuperſtition, tell them a hundred fables and prodigies which they ſay happen there every day.

Theſe prieſts, as well as the reſt throughout the iſland, are otherwiſe very exemplary in their conduct. There are two ſorts of them. Thoſe of the firſt order (*e*), are look-

(*d*) Mandelſlo, p. 281.
(*e*) Rob. Knox, t. ii. p. 88, & ſeq.

od

ed upon as the depoſitaries of divine knowledge, and are charged with the inſtruction of the people. They receive none amongſt them but perſons of condition, of good morals and education. The people entertain a ſingular reſpect for them. They ſalute them with a profound reverence wherever they meet them, but they return the ſalute to none. Wherever they go, a fine matt, or piece of white linen is ſpread over the ſeat preſented to them, an honour common to them with the king. They eat only once a day, excepting rice, water, or fruits, which they may take evening and morning. If they incline to marry, they muſt renounce the prieſthood; and this they do by throwing their habit into the river, and waſhing their head and all their body. The prieſts of the ſecond order have no external diſtinction. They work, and are cloathed like the reſt of the Cingales. All their miniſtry conſiſts in preſenting to the idols boiled rice, and other proviſions, which the people bring; but they never offer up animals. They are all ſo devoted to the metempſychoſis, that thro' the day they worſhip the firſt animal they meet with in the morning.

Yet it may be ſaid that all the inhabitants of the country are prieſts, and exerciſe the prieſtly functions. Every one according to his ability, builds a pagod either in his houſe, or elſe in his court or garden. Some are ſo ſmall that they are ſcarce two feet ſquare. The idol they place in them is of a monſtrous figure, wherefore they do not call them the houſes of God, but

the houſes of the devil. Being brought up in the principles of Manicheiſm, they addreſs almoſt always their vows and offerings to the devil, to keep them from the evils with which they are threatened. Notwithſtanding the prejudices of education, and the cuſtoms ſo generally eſtabliſhed among them, they hear without being offended whatever can be ſaid againſt the abſurdities of their worſhip, and it may be ſeen by this natural rectitude, that able and zealous miſſionaries would eaſily convert them to the true religion. Their marriages, their manners and cuſtoms, are very extraordinary. But a detail of them cannot be undertaken without taking up too much time. It will be ſufficient to refer the curious to thoſe travellers who have treated this ſubject more at length *(f)*. I ſhall only take notice of their paſſion for play.

Cock-fighting, and the game of draughts, are the ordinary employments of the Cingales †. The cocks of this iſland are bigger, and their ſpurs much longer, than in any other part of the world. The iſlanders fix to them large cutting inſtruments, and fight them againſt one another. They bett upon theſe engagements, gold, ſilver, orchards, lands, and many other things, which are gained by the maſters of that cock which is victorious. They venture, not only all they have in the world, at the game of draughts but even their very limbs. When they have nothing more

(*f*) Ribero, hiſt. of Ceylon. Robert Knox, t. ii. Mandelſlo, p. 279, &c. Dutch voyages, tom. ii. p. 472 to 516.

† Antient Arabian accounts, p. 105.

to

to loſe, they ſet a veſſel full of oil of nuts or ſeſame, for they have no olives, on the fire, and by it's ſide a ſmall ax, but very ſharp. He who loſes the party, lays his hand upon a ſtone, and they cut off the joint of a finger, which is immediately dipt in the boiling oil in order to cauterize the wound. This cruel operation cannot cure them of their bad habits of gaming, and ſometimes they are ſo obſtinate, that they will not give over till all their fingers are cut off. Others take a match of cotton ſteep'd in oil, which they burn upon their hands, without betraying any ſenſation of pain. But it is time to paſs to the ſecond or middlemoſt claſs of iſlands.

Under that name are comprehended thoſe which lie to the ſouth of the peninſula beyond the Ganges; they are alſo called the *iſlands of the Sonde*, on account of the ſtrait of that name which ſeparates Sumatra and Java. It will be ſufficient to inſiſt on thoſe two principal ones, together with Borneo.

The iſland of Sumatra is long and narrow, ſtretching in a ſtraight line from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt. One half of it's length faces the peninſula of Malacca, from which it is divided by a channel in ſome places no more than ten or twelve leagues over. Being cut almoſt in two equal parts by the equator, it ſtretches ſix degrees to the north, and as many to the ſouth. It is two hundred and fifty leagues long, ſixty broad, and about five hundred in circumference. The air here is warm, but leſs ſo than might be expected under the line. This temperature is at-

tributed to the cool breezes that blow from the ſea, which ought to produce ſenſible effects on account of the narrowneſs of the iſland. It may be added (*g*), that naturally ſpeaking the air ought not to be ſo warm in countries under the line and thereabouts, as in thoſe which lie towards the tropicks; becauſe in the laſt, the ſun ſtays longer in their zenith, and then the days are longer than the nights; whereas in the firſt, the days and nights are almoſt always equal, the difference not being ſenſible, and beſides the ſun quickly leaves their zenith. The rainy ſeaſon here commences with the month of June, and ends with October. If the rains ceaſe for a ſhort time, the ſun ſhines out with great warmth, and draws up exhalations which render the air very unhealthy for ſtrangers, and occaſion very dangerous diſtempers. Theſe vapours proceed chiefly from the lakes and marſhes, which are very frequent in this iſland.

The ſoil is fertile, and would bring forth in abundance all ſorts of grain if it was cultivated; but they ſow nothing but rice and millet. The beſt pepper in the Indies, except that of Cochin, is to be had here, as alſo cinnamon, ginger, ſugar, benjoin, white ſandal wood, citrons, oranges, honey, wax, and cotton. Cocoa trees are as common here as willows in Holland. They have mines of gold, ſilver, copper, tin, iron, lead, and ſulphur. All are in great abundance, but thoſe of copper and tin are moſt plentiful. In the high mountains which run thro' the

(*g*) Du Bois, p. 684.

iſland,

iſland, all ſorts of precious ſtones are to be found, with the value of which the inhabitants are little acquainted, and yet will not allow them to be ſought after. One of theſe mountains throws out fire by intervals, like Veſuvius in the kingdom of Naples. The foreſts of this iſland are peopled with animals of all kinds, elephants, rhinoceros's, tigers, lions, leopards, ſtags, wild boars, porcupines, wild horſes, civets, and apes.

The ſavages who inhabit the inland parts throughout all it's length, pretend to be the ſole aborigenes and maſters of the country. They entertain no commerce with Europeans, but eat as many of them as they can catch. Their kings or chieftains are perpetually at war with one another. He who dwells between Ticon and Manimcabo, almoſt under the line, is the richeſt of them all. He has in his poſſeſſion the beſt part of the gold mines. His ſubjects carry it to the inhabitants of Manimcabo, who give them in exchange cotton ſtuffs, rice, and arms. The firſt time that the Hollanders anchored at this iſland in 1596 (*b*), thoſe who inhabited the coaſts, and are not ſo fierce as the reſt, carried on board them cocoa nuts, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, cananas, poultry, and oranges. Theſe merchandizes were exchanged for a few knives. It is true the Portugueze had inſenſibly joined in commerce with them, which they had carried on for near a century. But the Dutch, who have made it a law to themſelves to engroſs all the commerce, have ſeized on

(*b*) Dutch voyages, t. i. p. 276.

ſeven

ſeven of the beſt maritime places, from which they have excluded the Portugueze. It is with pain they ſeen the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of one ſingle town.

Achem, or Achin, is the only kingdom of the ſix into which Sumatra is divided that we are well acquainted with, or that is worthy of notice. The capital is built on the north-weſt point of the iſland, on a river ſomewhat larger than the Sein at Paris; on which account the city is always full of Dutch, Engliſh, Danes, Portugueze, Chineſe, and Guzarats, who trade in all manner of commodities, becauſe they receive their payments in gold and precious ſtones. The principal commodities are cotton ſtuffs, rice, and ſpices (*i*).

The king of Achem is the moſt voluptuous prince in the world; his palace is filled with an incredible number of women: ſome remain continually about his perſon, either to cool and refreſh the air with large fans, to amuſe him with their converſation, to divert him with their ſongs, or to ſatisfy his deſires. There are above thirteen hundred in the halls and courts of entry, where they mount guard by turns night and day. Others are in the kitchens and the offices, where they prepare every thing that is for the king's immediate ſervice. It has been obſerved, that his palace is the theatre of jealouſy, hatred, diſputes, and perpetual complaints. Theſe city

(*i*) Dampier, ſupplem. part i. c. 7. Dutch voyages, t. ii. p. 593, &c. t. iv. p. 61, &c. t. vi. p. 233. Le Brun, p. 361.

of

of the laws, and the rigor of the puniſhments, are the only barriers capable of containing them within bounds. Perſons of all conditions who have fallen into a fault, are equally liable to puniſhment: ſome even of the royal family have been ſeen at his court without either hands or feet, and have been treated in that manner for faults which would have hardly deſerved notice in any other country. He is frequently the ſpectator, or even the executioner of the puniſhments inflicted. He has elephants purpoſely trained to torment criminals, and who underſtand by the leaſt ſigns what the prince requires of them. He has been ſeen to paſs coolly from that ſpectacle to that of cock-fighting, in which many of the Indian kings take great pleaſure. The king of Achem's ſubjects are cowardly, indolent, and idle; ſome of them are mahometans, others idolaters. Their king may attempt any thing againſt them without fear of reſiſtance.

The iſland of Java lies to the ſouth-eaſt of Sumatra, from which it is ſeparated by the famous ſtraits of the Sonde, which in that place are from ſeven to eight leagues over: ſome learned men (*l*) pretend that this iſland is the Jabadin of Ptolemy. But this conjecture, and the proofs by which it is ſupported, do not concern us: we are only concerned with it's preſent ſtate, and the knowledge we have of it.

This iſland may be divided into the coaſts or the maritime countries, the low countries, and

(*l*) La Mart. Dutch voyages, t. i. p. 331. ſuſe. et t. ii. p. 552.

the

the midland. The northern coaſt is under the dominion of the Dutch company, who have built forts, and maintain garriſons in it. The inland country is poſſeſſed by the emperor, or the mataram, who has united under his power different principalities, whoſe ſovereigns rather choſe to retire to the ſouthern coaſt among the uncultivated lands, than ſubmit to him and renounce their pretenſions. He has put in their place princes, leſs jealous of independance, who pay him a tribute, and live under his dominion. The company itſelf has aſſiſted him in that project, by giving him all the ſuccours for which he had occaſion; and that prince is the more concerned to keep well with the company, becauſe he had on the ſouthern coaſt implacable enemies, who would long ago have overturned his throne had they not dreaded the forces and vengeance of the Dutch, who have in effect made themſelves maſters of the beſt and greateſt part of the iſland; and it is not believed any power dare attempt to drive them out, ſince they have forced the king of the iſland Madura to yield them his kingdom in 1725.

The mines of gold, ſilver, copper, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, a general plenty of all that is neceſſary for life, the neighbourhood of the ſpice iſlands, Japan, China, and the Indies, determined the Dutch to eſtabliſh their general factory at Batavia, the firſt part of that iſland at going out of the ſtraits of the Sonde, in the kingdom of Bantam (*m*). It was formerly called

(*m*) See on the cuſtoms and manners of that country, Corneille Le Brun, c. 58, &c. Dutch voyages, i. p. 338. t. ii. p. 697.

Jacatra;

Jacatra; or rather the ruins of that ancient city ſerved for a foundation to that which the Dutch built in 1619; and to which they gave the Latin name of their country, calling it Batavia; but among the Javaneſe it ſtill retains the name of Jacatra. It is ſituated (*n*) in a large and low plain, with the ſea to the north, and very high mountains covered with woods behind it. Brick walls ſurround it on all ſides, which are defended by twenty-two baſtions, to which they have given the names of the provinces and principal cities in Holland. The wideneſs and depth of the ditch which ſurrounds them, and is always full of water, forms a ſecond inſurmountable barrier, chiefly at the time of high water. Laſtly, it is fortified by all the artillery which could be put in a place of ſtrength. The Dutch have eſtabliſhed the regular exerciſe of the proteſtant religion, the only one permitted here; and according to their accounts the ſervice is performed with great exactneſs. Their attention and charity to the poor of the hoſpitals are no leſs commended.

But the care of the company to improve their commerce yields in nothing to their zeal for religion. The order and regulations eſtabliſhed among the officers, ſhews that their care and attention could not be carried farther. Being perſuaded that a power ought to make itſelf reſpected in thoſe to whom it's intereſts are entruſted, they cauſe all the honours of ſovereignty

(*n*) La Martiniere at that word. Le Brun. c. 62.

to

to be paid the governor general, whom they appoint over the dominions and factories they poſſeſs in the Indies; his houſe is a palace, and takes up one half the citadel. Every Wedneſday and Saturday he goes to divert himſelf at his country houſe, with a retinue fit for a king. A trumpet (*o*), two halberdiers, and ſixteen horſe-guards go before him. He follows in a light chariot, with his equerry in the boot of the coach, and ſix halberdiers on horſeback. After that come the coaches of his retinue, and the proceſſion is cloſed by fifty guards with a trumpet at their head. His retinue is no leſs pompous when he reſides in the city. As he proceeds ſlowly, a company of foot ſurround his chariot, with his halberdiers and equerry by the door, on horſeback.

Thoſe enſigns of grandeur ſerve to ſoften the fatigues of an employment ſo laborious and oppreſſive as this is. It may be ſaid that he never enjoys reſt or relaxation. He is oppreſſed with letters and packets from day-break, and perpetually employed in the affairs of the company. At ſun-riſing, the two chiefs of the merchants, the commandant of the citadel, the major, the architect, the chief of the artillery, and ſeveral others, come to give him an account of what has paſſed the night before, and to receive his orders. At eleven o'clock, the *ſabandhaer* comes to inform him of the ſhips, merchandizes, and perſons who arrive, and the places of their de-

(*o*) Le Brun, c. 63.

ſtination,

ſtination, and to aſk from him the neceſſary paſſports. He muſt beſides give audience to thoſe who carry on buſineſs in the palace. Thus is he employed till he ſits down to table, where he is not above half an hour, and even part of that time he ſpends in talking of buſineſs, after which he reſumes the ſame courſe of fatigue till ſupper time. Thus to judge of things properly, the general of the company is no more than their principal ſlave, who has not a moment to himſelf, and cannot paſs ſo much as one night out of the citadel. He is beſides obliged to give an exact account, to the Dutch company, of every thing that happens on the coaſt of Java, and in the country which depends on it. Every counſellor is obliged to do the ſame for the lodge or factory of which he has the direction. A courſe of life ſo remote from all repoſe has induced many to refuſe the place of general, or to reſign it to the company after enjoying it a few months. The council aſſembles regularly twice a week; and foreign miniſters who go to Batavia are not permitted to leave it, 'till they have had an audience of the governor.

The next officer to this is the director general whoſe employment is no leſs fatiguing. He buys and ſhips off all the merchandize of the company of what nature ſoever, and to whatever place it is ſent. He has the management and direction of every thing concerning trade; he appoints the cargo which every veſſel is to take in; all the merchants and officers of the company wait

of

of him to inform him of every thing that paſſes; and from him they receive the keys of the magazines or warehouſes, the keeping of which is committed to him. The buſineſs of the inferior officers is regulated with no leſs preciſion.

A French traveller (p) who was in the Indies in 1723, informs us of other facts equally intereſting in their kind. If the Dutch, ſays he, are the richeſt nation in the Indies, they are likewiſe the moſt powerful, and thoſe who carry on the greateſt trade. They have always forty veſſels, and ſometimes more, with which they traffick throughout all the Indies; and what with the profit they draw from thence, and the revenues of their dominions, they load four or eight and twenty large ſhips, which they ſend every year to Europe. As many come from Holland, who return afterwards, for reaſons of policy they take care to change their crews. As ſoon as an officer arrives in the Indies, they immediately put him aboard another veſſel. If thoſe who have been in the ſervice three years want to return to Europe, they preſent a petition to the chamber, who fail not to pay regard to it if the perſons are in a condition to return. If their number is not ſufficient to man the veſſels to be ſent back, the governor informs himſelf of thoſe who have been moſt ſucceſsful in their voyages, and who after their

(p) Lullier, inſtructions for the commerce of the Eaſt-Indies, p. 164.

return

return can paſs the remainder of their days comfortably, and maintain their families eaſily.

The Dutch company is ſollicitous for the advancement of all who are in their ſervice; they deſpiſe thoſe officers who neglect their own affairs, and reckon them incapable of managing thoſe of others to purpoſe. They very ſeldom promote any one that is careleſs about his fortune. The ſovereign chamber pays no regard to the petitions they preſent for their return; thus are they obliged to remain contrary to their inclinations. If any return without leave obtained, they are proſecuted on their arrival as deſerters. This law equally obliges ſailors and officers. They engage the affections of both to the ſervice by allowing them to carry on ſome ſort of traffick, which privilege is according to their rank or condition. We muſt not then be ſurpriſed at the riches of the Dutch, and that they are ſerved in the Indies with ſo much eagerneſs. The watchfulneſs of the maſter frequently confirms the wavering fidelity of the ſervant.

The iſland of Borneo would be alone ſufficient to ſupport a conſiderable branch of trade, if that of the inland part were practicable. But it is poſſeſſed by ſavages called Bejous (*q*), an intractable race, who cannot endure ſtrangers; and the coaſts are inhabited by Moors, nearly as fierce, who are notwithſtanding under monarchical government. Altho' our travellers have made very little abode in this iſland, they have

(*q*) La Martiniere, who has forgot to cite his author.

been able to inform us that it produces many valuable commodities. There are mines of all ſorts; but theſe ſavages abſolutely neglect metals, becauſe they know not the art of founding. They gather the gold in duſt, which is found in the ſand of ſeveral rivers. Rice grows here in great plenty, and better than any where elſe in the Indies. Their fruits are nothing like thoſe of Europe, neither in colour, taſte, or ſize. Caſſia, wax, camphire, pepper, lac, and many excellent dyes, are very common. The number and ſingularity of the animals, ſerve to ſhew the wonderful diverſity of the productions of nature. Nothing can be more curious than the different kinds of apes, from ſome of which the beſt bezoar ſtones are to be got. This is nearly what they tell us of Borneo, the inhabitants whereof have no other law than that of nature, nor any religion but a few particular ſuperſtitions.

Eaſtward of the iſlands of Borneo and Java are thoſe which we have placed in the third claſs of the Indian ocean. Altho' they are almoſt innumerable, they may be comprehended under three heads: the Molucco or ſpice iſlands, New Guinea, and the Philippines.

The chief Moluccos are Celebes, Gilolo, Ternate, Ceram, Amboina, and Banda (*r*).

Celebes is the largeſt of them all: in general, it has this in common with the reſt, that the ſoil produces in plenty every thing that can be deſired for the neceſſities or pleaſures of life.

(*r*) Vid. Argenſol's conqueſt of the Moluccos.

Fruits,

Fruits, aromatic and dying woods, and ſpices, grow here in ſuch quantities, that the inhabitants give them away for almoſt nothing. They uſe no ſort of food except rice and fiſh. It is not known on what occaſion they became ſenſible, towards the beginning of the laſt century, of the vanity of the idols they had hitherto worſhipped. They reſolved by general conſent to change their religion (*s*). But not knowing whether to embrace the chriſtian or mahometan, they determined that chance ſhould decide it. They ſent embaſſadors to the chriſtians of Malacca, and to the king of Achem, demanding of them perſons capable of inſtructing them in religion, and promiſing, to determine in favour of thoſe who ſhould arrive firſt. While they delayed the time at Malacca, the king of Achem ſent away ſeveral caſſiſes or doctors of the Alcoran, who converted the iſland to the mahometan ſect. The Macaſſars, who inhabit the greateſt part of it, are a people of unheard-of fury and cruelty when obliged to take up arms in their own defence (*t*). We have a particular hiſtory of them (*u*).

The iſlands of Gilolo (*x*), Ternate, Ceram, Amboina, and Banda, and the others in the ſouth, poſſeſs great riches in that ſmall territory which every one contains in particular. The Dutch and Portugueze divide the trade.

It is ſurpriſing that New Guinea, tho' ſo near the Moluccoes, ſhould be ſo little known to us.

(*s*) P. Alex. de Rhodes, voyage to the Indies, p. 293, et ſeq.
(*t*) See the memoirs of M. Forbin de Janſon.
(*u*) Gervaiſe, hiſt. of the Macaſſars.
(*x*) They are treated of at length in the Dutch voyages.

All that we know of it is reduced to a few very imperfect notions of it's coaſts; thoſe towards the ſouth, we are told are almoſt always covered with ſnow, altho' lying in the fourth and fifth degrees of ſouth latitude. But it is doubtful whether it adjoins to Carpentaria or New Holland, which lies to the ſouth.

Under the name of Philippines (*y*), whether ancient or modern, are comprehended all thoſe iſlands which lie to the north of the Moluccoes, between the equator and the tropick of Cancer. They are called Philippines, becauſe the Spaniards eſtabliſhed themſelves in them under the reign of Philip II. The eaſtern people call them Luçon, from the name of the largeſt; and the Portugueze Manilles, from a city of that name, which paſſes for the capital of this iſland. Writers are not agreed as to the nature of the country. To liſten to the ancients, nature furniſhes every thing that can be deſired, whether for the pleaſures of life, or the rich articles of commerce. According to the moderns, theſe iſlands have nothing engaging in them, and the Spaniards keep them only to preſerve a communication between America, China, and Japan. None of the fruits met with elſewhere, are to be found here, excepting millet, rice, and cocoa, which are in great plenty. There are, chiefly at Mindanao, ſome mines of gold and iron, of which no uſe is made. The number and diverſity of theſe iſlands do not permit us to determine the character of the inhabitants. Some

(*y*) With reſpect to theſe iſlands, conſult the voyage of Gemelli Careri round the world.

have

have the reputation of being cruel, others of being mild and affable. Mahometaniſm, idolatry, and chriſtianity, which the Spaniards (*z*) have eſtabliſhed in ſome places, are the three religions of thoſe iſlanders. In the Inſtructive letters (*a*) it may be ſeen what an happy chance carried the knowledge of the goſpel into the new Philippines, and in what manner the number and ſituation of thoſe iſlands have become known.

CHAP. II.

The Religions of the Indies.

IT may be obſerved, from the hiſtorical deſcription of the Indies, that an almoſt infinite variety of manners and cuſtoms prevail in this tract. The kingdoms are multiplied without end; and in paſſing from one to another, different laws, practices, manners, and maxims are every where to be found. So many and ſo great diverſities cannot be reduced to principles or common heads. This determined us to deſcribe the character and cuſtoms of each people in particular.

It is not the ſame with reſpect to the religions which prevail in the Indies. Altho' ſuperſtition, ignorance, impoſture, and commerce have introduced into the eaſt all thoſe religions that are

(*z*) Inſtructive letters, t. xi. p. 139.
(*a*) The ſame, t. ii. p. 4. and what follows.

to be met with in other parts of the world, however oppoſite to one another; we may however bring them back to certain points, and treat of them ſeparately. It is a chaos which has not yet been compleatly developed, and the unfolding of which will be the moſt intereſting part of this hiſtory. The Indians are idolaters, jews, mahometans, or chriſtians; and theſe laſt are catholicks, neſtorians, or proteſtants.

SECT. I.

The idolaters of the Indies.

HOW great ſoever the zeal of the apoſtle of the Indies, of the pious eccleſiaſticks who went thither in the fourth century, and of the miſſionaries which the European princes have ſent thither in theſe laſt ages, might have been, yet notwithſtanding neither the one nor the other have been able entirely to extirpate the ſenſeleſs ſuperſtitions of paganiſm. The original of idolatry is as ancient as the firſt peopling of the country, and has no where produced ſuch ridiculous fruits.

It is not in the practices, in the ceremonies, ſacrifices, or common converſation of the Indians, that we muſt ſeek for the ſyſtem, principles, and fundamental dogmas, of the religion they profeſs. Their worſhip is only a habit, for which they can give no other reaſon, than the ancient uſage of the country, and the example of their anceſtors. Thoſe from whom they

they ought to expect and receive inſtructions on that point, have a maxim to keep them in an ignorance ſurpaſſing that of the moſt barbarous nations. We muſt then have recourſe to their learned men, to get ſome light into the foundation and object of a ſpecies of idolatry, which is peculiar to them, and which has nothing in common with that of other nations. Amongſt the great number of hiſtorians and travellers who have treated of it, none have been ſo well acquainted with it as Abraham Rogers, a proteſtant miniſter. During the ten years he reſided at Paliacate on the coaſt of Coromandel, he made it his ſtudy to diſcover the ſecrets of that myſterious religion. He obtained his end by the connection and friendſhip which he contracted with one of the principal brachmans of the country, who explained to him the whole doctrine of the Vedam. This is the book of the law, or the bible of thoſe pagans, of which there are few copies. The language and ſtile are ſo obſolete, that the moſt learned, with difficulty, underſtand it; but the commentaries ſupply the text.

According to the Vedam, (*b*) there is a ſupreme being, omnipotent and eternal, whoſe nature never was, and never can be known. Some call him Wiſtnou, others Peremael, Eſvara, Iſura, or otherwiſe, according to the diverſity of countries and languages. It cannot be ſaid whe-

(*b*) Abrah. Rogers, in his book entitled: The port open to come at the knowledge of concealed paganiſm, p. ii c. 1. &c.

ther he is a ſpirit or a body, becauſe he is environed by a variety of colours. He has no eyes, yet ſees every thing that paſſes; without ears, he hears every thing; and, altho' varying in every place according to occaſion and neceſſity, he exiſts nevertheleſs throughout the whole world.

When the univerſe * was only an immenſe maſs of eternal waters, he reſolved to make the world ſuch as it is, without other deſign than his own ſatisfaction.

For this purpoſe, he took the figure of a child, and placed himſelf on a leaf which the waters gently carried about. Thus while he ſported at his eaſe on the waves, holding the extremity of his foot in his mouth, a flower came out of his navel, which produced the firſt man, whom he named Brama, from whom proceeds the race of the Brachmans or Bramins, by Caſſiopa his eldeſt ſon. The firſt thought of Brama was a ſentiment of gratitude. He gave thanks to the author of his exiſtence for having given him a reaſonable ſoul, and his gratitude was recompenſed with a new gift, which almoſt equalled him with the divinity. Wiſtnou gave him power to create the world, in the ſtate wherein we now ſee it; that is to ſay, to hatch an egg which ſwam on the ſurface of the waters,

* It ſeems that in effect the brachmans ſuppoſe an eternal matter, of which the world was formed. According to others, they admit a pure and ſimple creation. This is a point difficult to decide, and on which the diſſertation of Moſhemius in Cudworth may be conſulted.

and

and contained the heavens, ſtars, and earth, and all that covers it. He yielded to Brama all the glory of his work, abandoning to him the care and government of the univerſe, as a king truſts the management of his dominions to a miniſter, of whoſe fidelity, wiſdom, and abilities he is well ſatisfied. Thus the gymnoſophiſts or Indian ſages, are perſuaded that Wiſtnou remaining ſhut up in his own glory, meddles not with what paſſes without him, which he confides entirely to Brama, the maſter and arbiter of all events. But as he was not ſufficient for every thing, he choſe for himſelf aſſiſtants, upon whom he reſted part of his cares. Some commentators on the Vedam make them amount to the number of thirty-three millions, whom they regard as ſo many divinities of an inferior order.

The Indians judging of God as of men, with reſpect to pleaſures and paſſions, give to Wiſtnou a great number of wives, the principal and moſt beloved of whom are Laëtſami and Parvati. But that union, according to them, conſiſts only in a pure commerce of friendſhip, which is yet ſufficient for generation by a ſimple act of their will. It is in this manner, they add, that Wiſtnou has transformed himſelf ten times to dwell upon the earth, under figures by which he could not be known. At firſt he was under that of a fiſh, then of a tortoiſe, next of a hog, after that he was half man half lion, and laſtly he appeared in the form of a horſe. Every one of theſe transformations is founded on a par-

a particular fable, which is a ſeries of all manner of abſurdities. The Vedam ſpeaks likewiſe of good and bad angels, proceeding from Wiſtnou and Brama. But it would ſeem the laſt only became ſo, by the carrying off the amortan, or liquor of the gods, which however remained but a very ſhort time.

Brama's ſovereign power over all creatures brought him to the brink of total ruin and deſtruction: Pride took place in his heart of thoſe fine ſentiments he had diſcovered at coming out of Wiſtnou's boſom; he wanted to equal himſelf with his creator. Wiſtnou ordered one of his ſervants to cut off the middlemoſt of his five heads, with his nail. The order was immediately executed. Brama then perceiving his weakneſs and dependance, humbled himſelf before the god, and compoſed an admirable poem in his praiſe. Wiſtnou was touched at his repentance; he pardoned his fault, and for his comfort told him, that the loſs of one of his heads ſhould not diminiſh his power and empire over the creatures in the other ſeven worlds ſince created, and all ſimilar to that in which we inhabit. Thus they repreſent Brama with four faces, all on the ſame head.

It is not known by what imagination the Bramins regulate the duration of the world. They pretend it ought ſtill to ſubſiſt more than a million of centuries; ſince in 1639, one of them in converſation with Abraham Rogers told him, that only 4739 years of the fourth age had elapſed, and that the firſt had laſted 17280 centuries.

turies. They add, that in the firſt age the men were all juſt and good; that the devil, created ſince that time, had no power to do them harm; that in the following age the fourth part of mankind was corrupted; that in the third, the good and bad were equal in numbers; but that in the laſt times the depravation had become ſo great, that hardly one fourth were found to be juſt.

The common doctrine maintains, that after death there will be rewards for ſome, and puniſhments for others, in proportion to the crimes with which their lives have been ſullied. The Indians, following the notions of the metempſychoſis, believe that the ſouls go out of their bodies at death, either to paſs into other men newly born, into ſome animal, or into plants. The only end which they propoſe by all their good works, is the hope of a happy tranſmigration into the body of a rich man, of a lord or monarch, or of a docible animal, ſuch as a cow or ſheep. Their extreme veneration for an ox or cow ariſes from the Egyptian navigators, who taught them the worſhip of Apis, one of their principal divinities. The murderer of one of theſe animals would be reckoned a profane impious perſon, who hazarded the death of a father, mother, or ſome relation, whom heaven had favoured after death. Here are, as in Egypt, ſacred oxen, which they honour with offerings and ſacrifices; and whoſe funeral pomp (c) ſur-

(c) Marc. Paulo.

paſſes

paſſes in magnificence that of their greateſt men. After they have cloathed and covered them with the richeſt ſtuffs, they lay them in a pompous manner in the ground, burning at the ſame time incenſe and perfumes. This veneration (*d*) extends more or leſs to all other animals; and the bramines, benjans, and talapoins have been ſeen ſcattering in ſome countries food for birds, inſects, and reptiles.

We read a ſingular inſtance to this purpoſe in an Arabian traveller already quoted *. All the Indian and Chineſe kings, ſays that author, believe the metempſychoſis, and make it an article of their religion. One of thoſe princes having been cured of the ſmall-pox, and beholding himſelf in a looking-glaſs, ſaw with much uneaſineſs how much his countenance had been disfigured. He turned to one of his nephews, and ſaid: I am the only one to whom it has happened to ſtay in his body after ſuch a change. But this body is like a leathern bag blown up with wind, and when the ſoul has left it, it paſſes into another. Aſcend the throne, for I will divide my body from my ſoul, that it may return into another body. At the ſame time he called for a cangiar, or very ſharp ſabre, with which he ordered his nephew to cut off his head.

The Indians believe that there are crimes ſo atrocious, as to put ſouls tainted with them in the

(*d*) See Mr. de la Loubere, t. i. c. 24.
* Ancient accounts, p. 85.

rank

rank of devils; that they flutter about in the air till the time of their expiation; that tormented with deſires and neceſſities, they ſuffer an extreme want of all things; and that to be revenged, they are continually ſeeking to do miſchief to mankind. In conſequence of this imagination, the relations and friends of the deceaſed place proviſions in the courts and on the roofs, that he may come and eat it if he is in neceſſity. Others, more criminal ſtill, are puniſhed out of this world, in a place called *Jamma-Locon*, that is to ſay, hell. Theſe are horribly tortured by famine, cold and torments, which are never to end. The abyſs into which they are plunged, is called *Atam-Tappes*, or the well of obſcurity.

Thoſe, on the contrary, whoſe lives have had no other ſtains but thoſe of human weakneſs, begin after death to enjoy the fruits of their fidelity. Their ſoul returns into a body, which honours and riches render happy; and when the term of their exile is expired, they fly with a rapid flight beyond the ſeven worlds which fill the heavens, and are received into the *Brama-Locon*, or the place where Brama has choſen his reſidence. There they enjoy all imaginable felicity; their pleaſures are exquiſitely purified; and every one eſteems that the beſt place which he poſſeſſes. There is yet a place of ſuperior beatitude, which the Indians call *Weicontam*. It is there that thoſe chaſte ſouls, who are exempt even from weakneſs, and whoſe lives have been ſpent in a courſe of virtue, are immediately taken

taken up after their ſeparation from the body. The view of Wiſtnou abſorbs all their faculties; they ſwim in pleaſures; ſin is no longer known; all their deſires are ſatisfied; and the certainty of their immutability compleats the happineſs they feel. But they are convinced that the number of thoſe fortunate ſouls is very ſmall. Some even deny there are any, not believing ſuch perfection poſſible to human nature.

The Siameſe place in that order their famous *Sommonacodon*, who is in their kingdom what Confucius is in China. A fable ſupported by no certain facts, which has been commented on from age to age by an infinite multitude of pretended learned men, real doctors of ſuperſtition, viſion, and falſehood, muſt neceſſarily carry along with it much diverſity and many contradictions. This is eminently ſtriking in what our moſt judicious travellers relate of Sommonacodon. They have ſimply and faithfully narrated what they have been told by the talapoins and Siameſe prieſts. From hence ariſes that diverſity in their accounts. That of Mr. De la Loubere, envoy extraordinary to the king of Siam in 1687, after Mr. de Chaumont, appears the ſimpleſt, and to approach neareſt to the ſyſtem.

Sommonacodon, ſays that writer (*e*), was born, according to the Balis books, of a father and mother who had reigned in the iſland of

(*e*) La Loubere, of the kingdom of Siam, t. i. p. 524, &c. See alſo father Tachard, p. 397, &c.

Ceylon. From his youth upwards, he felt a ſtrong deſire for the higheſt perfection. He gave away all his riches in alms: and his charity not being yet ſatisfied, he pulled out his eyes, and killed his wife and children, and gave them to the talapoins to eat. Thus having diſengaged himſelf by his own hands from all that could attach him to the world, he gave himſelf up to faſting, prayer, and the other practices of the perfect life. But as that was not thought attainable but by the talapoins, he embraced their profeſſion; he put the finiſhing hand to his good works, and acquired all the privileges belonging to ſuch a ſtate.

One of the principal was an extraordinary ſtrength, which made him conqueror in a remarkable combat with *Pra-Souane*, a perſonage of conſummate virtue, but ignorant of Sommonacodon's, and no leſs than thirty or forty fathoms in height. For the Indians have their age of wonders, like the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Chineſe. Beſides ſtrength of body, Sommonacodon had the power of working all manner of miracles. He could make himſelf of whatever bulk he pleaſed, and ſometimes ſo little that he vaniſhed from the ſight, and perched on another's head without being felt or perceived. He perfectly knew all things in the world; he penetrated equally into the paſt and the future; he had an entire agility of body, and tranſported himſelf with eaſe from place to place, to preach virtue to all nations; and in this exerciſe of his zeal, he died aged eighty years; or rather, ſay the

the Siameſe, diſappeared in air, like a ſpark of fire, to enter into the *Nireupan*, that is, the ſovereign repoſe. When he found the moment approach in which he muſt quit the world, he ordered that ſtatues and temples ſhould be conſecrated to him. He is actually repreſented on his altars, ſitting croſs-legged after his country manner; and his two favourite diſciples are always at each ſide. The Siameſe invoke him as a god, but they believe that he attends to them only, and has power over none elſe.

The notion they have formed of the ſovereign repoſe or happineſs, is not entirely conformable to that of the Malabars. They imagine that it does not exclude them from the ſucceſſion of the metempſychoſis. Thus they believe Sommonacodon has frequently appeared on earth under the figure of different animals, amongſt whom he reigned over the whole ſpecies, as he had done in Ceylon. Thus he has been king of oxen, hogs, apes, &c.

Thoſe different tranſmigrations relate to the equally fabulous hiſtory of his brother *Thevatat*. He, jealous of Sommonacodon's virtue, power, and privileges, declared war againſt him, and had the mortification to ſee himſelf vanquiſhed as often as he attacked him. Both of them (*f*) were born again together in the ſame ſpecies of animals. But as Thevatat was always inferior to his brother, their hatred, inſults, and wars, were perpetuated without any alteration of ſuc-

(*f*) Father Tachard, p. 398, &c.

ceſs

ceſs. Thevatat was however endowed with great abilities. He ſeduced kings and whole nations; he made them reliſh his doctrine, and engaged them to be his imitators. Hence aroſe that ſchiſm which divided the world into two parts, and gave a beginning to two religions, whereas formerly all men were of one. Chriſtianity, according to the Talapoins, is the ſect of Thevatat: whence they conclude, that 'tis no wonder if we it's diſciples find nothing admirable in the books of Sommonacodon; if our ſcriptures are thick-ſown with obſcurity and doubts, and we ourſelves profoundly ignorant of the Divinity. They allow us only ſome knowledge of mathematicks, geometry, and other arts, which Thevatat could have taught us.

The reſemblance which they imagine is found in ſome points between their religion and ours, makes them believe that Jeſus Chriſt differs not from Thevatat. They perſuade themſelves that being the diſciples of the one, we are likewiſe the followers of the other; and the fear they have to fall into hell with Thevatat, prevents their liſtening to thoſe who propoſe to them the embracing chriſtianity. Sommonacodon affirms in his books, that he found him in the eighth abode, that is, in the place where the greateſt criminals are tormented. He ſaw him overwhelmed with evils, groaning under the weight of his miſery, expiating by the moſt horrible pains all the ſins he had committed, fixed to a croſs by large nails, which pierced his hands and feet, with his head all bleeding with a crown of thorns they had placed on it, and his body

covered over with wounds; to compleat his misery, the infernal fire burned without conſuming him.

From this ſlight ſketch, which in a few words points out to us the notion the two principal Indian nations entertain of the divinity, it is not difficult to perceive that both have been faithleſs plagiaries and corrupters of our holy books and the myſtery of the croſs (g), which to them has proved matter of ſcandal. In the *Vedam* of the Malabars, we evidently perceive the firſt chapter of Geneſis, the Spirit of God carried on the waters, the Word myſteriouſly engendered, it's divinity, power, and incarnation, the ſin of the firſt man, the angels, paradiſe, and hell. This book is then poſterior to the preaching of the goſpel. Some Bramin muſt have heard a chriſtian ſpeak of thoſe different points of doctrine; he has admired without underſtanding them, he has adapted them to the genius of his nation, and the prevailing ideas of the metempſychoſis taught them by Pythagoras; he has loſt the few incomprehenſible truths in the prejudices of his doctrine; he has compoſed a ridiculous mixture of both, and impoſture has at laſt given divinity to the work. Such undoubtedly was the original of the Vedam; and ſuch was that of the fable, mythology, and apotheoſes among the Egyptians and Greeks, whoſe prieſts and poets have diſfigured ſacred and profane hiſtory.

What they tell us of Sommonacodon has yet

(g) See Huet. on his reſemblance. demonſtr. prop. iv. c. 6.

leſs

leſs reality. As the Indians relate nothing of him but what is fabulous (*b*), as they regard him not as the author of their law and doctrine, but rather the reformer of both, and laſtly, as they have no certain tradition about his perſon, it may be doubted if there ever was any ſuch man. It appears to have been invented at pleaſure for the idea of a man, whom virtue, as they conceived it, had rendered happy in their fabulous ages, that is to ſay, before they had any hiſtorical certainty. And becauſe they thought it neceſſary to give at the ſame time the oppoſite idea of a man whoſe crimes had reduced him to the greateſt miſery, they have invented their Thevatat, whom they have loaded with all the odious and humbling circumſtances which the myſtery of the croſs preſents to the eyes of fleſh and blood. It may be farther obſerved, that the Talapoins exalt their Sommonacodon ſo much, in order to heighten their rank, and make it reſpected, by ſaying that he had not conſummated his virtue till he made profeſſion of their doctrine and followed their manner of living.

A religion entirely eſtabliſhed by ſuperſtition and ignorance, cannot fail leading to groſs and evident contradictions. Whatever power the Malabars attribute to their Wiſtnou or Brama, and the Siameſe to Sommonacodon, or ſome other ſuperior being, they believe themſelves nevertheleſs obliged to pay as religious a worſhip to the devil, as to their principal divinities, or

(*b*) La Loubere, t. i. p. 534.

thoſe whom they honour equally with him. Whether Manicheiſm came from the Perſians * to the Indians; or Manes *(i)* ſent his diſciples thither, as Theodoret ſeems to think *(l)*; or the Tartars *(m)* carried it thither, it is certain that this impiety reigns chiefly in the continent and the iſlands. It is true the Bramins oppoſe this worſhip as much as they can *(n)*; but the Benjans authorize, command, and direct it. In this manner a learned traveller talks of it *(o)*. Altho' the Benjans acknowledge a God, the creator and preſerver of the univerſe, yet they adore the devil, and ſay that God created him to govern the world, and to do evil to man. Their moſques are filled with his ſtatues, made of gold, ſilver, ivory, ebony, marble, wood, potters clay, and common ſtone. He is repreſented under a frightful figure. The head, loaded with four horns, is adorned with a triple crown, in form of a tiara. The countenance is horribly ugly, with two large teeth like a boar's tuſks jutting out from his mouth, and the chin furniſhed with a long and hideous beard. His breaſts hang down upon his belly, where his hands are laid in a negligent poſture. From his belly ariſes another head uglier than the firſt,

* This queſtion is well handled in Cudworth. De ſyſt. intel. Diſſert. de Natura Genitrice, c. iv. ſect. 13.

(i) See D. Herbelot, who determines for this opinion at the word Manes.

(l) Theodoret, Hæretic. l. i. c. 26. p. 322.

(m) Rubruquis, voyage into Tartary, c. 45.

(n) Abraham Rogers, part ii. c. 15.

(o) Mandelſlo, p. 61.

with

with two horns, and a tongue hanging out prodigiously large. He has paws instead of feet, and a cow's tail behind. They place this figure on a stone table, which serves for an altar, on which they put the offerings. On the right side of the altar is a large bason, in which the assistants purify themselves by different ablutions; and on the left is a trunk, into which they put their charity in silver. It is not sufficient that the Benjan sacrificer should wash himself like the people; he must likewise purify himself by the flame of the lamps dispersed in the different parts of the pagod, to illuminate it; for there are no windows. On this account they rather resemble the caves and retreats of unclean spirits, as they are in reality, than places destined for the exercise of religion. They have besides exercised their imagination in painting on the walls the most horrible figures of devils, and animals existing only in the fancy.

The horror of the worship is answerable to the deformity of the temples. After certain offerings are made, and the sacrifice of a buffalo and a great number of goats is offered, the Indians who desire to render the deity propitious to them, suffer them to thrust two hooks under their ribs and shoulder blades, and then are hoisted up twenty foot from the ground by means of a crane. There, naked and suspended by a rope to which the two hooks are fixed, they make all imaginable conversions, holding fuzees, swords, and burning torches in their hands. The women addict themselves to this exercise

as well as the men, and both pretend they ſuffer no pain thereby. We relate this from an author (p) who affirms he has frequently ſeen it.

This cruel ceremony is only practiſed at their ſolemn feſtivals. Throughout the year they are contented with offering up victuals to the demon. If any one falls (q) ſick, he makes a vow for fear his malady ſhould increaſe; becauſe they are perſuaded that as God is the author of all good, ſo the devil is the cauſe of all the evil that happens. The performance of this vow requires a great deal of preparation and expence. They cauſe a very high houſe to be built, on which they place a great number of lighted flambeaus, and in the middle, a table covered with ſeveral different meats, to make the devil eat and ſatisfy his appetite, that he may no longer have any inclination to hurt him who regales him. To augment the pleaſures of the feſtival, they bring muſicians, who play and ſing during the repaſt. They elect one of the principal aſſiſtants at the feaſt, to whom they give the name of father of the devil, who orders all things, and does the honours of the ceremony. His chief buſineſs is to regulate the muſick, and contrive what may be propereſt to charm the enemy. There are others, who in the morning take a baſket full of rice or ſome other food, which they carry thro' the ſtreets of the city, holding a lighted flambeau, and cry-

(p) Abrah. Rogers, part II. c. 15.

(q) Gaſpard Balbi, a Venetian, in the third volume of Dutch voyages, p. 68. Mandelſlo, p. 298.

ing

ing that they offer that to the devil, that he may let them live in peace thro' the day. If it happens that a dog follows them, and makes them ſpill any thing, they do not oppoſe it, but ſay the devil has ſent him to eat what they offer him. Others have the ſuperſtition to throw behind them the laſt mouthful of their meal, to make a preſent of it to the devil.

Such are the objects of the idolatrous worſhip of Wiſtnou in the Indies, called differently in different countries, Sommonacodon and the Devil.

After I had finiſhed this work, I was informed that there was a manuſcript in the king's library which treated of all the Indian divinities. I was favoured with a peruſal of it, and ſaw with an entire ſatisfaction the truth and demonſtration of all I had read in our beſt authors. This manuſcript contains * one hundred and forty-two plates of different figures, painted from the originals, with a great deal of art, propriety, and delicacy. It were to be wiſhed the author had had as much taſte for reſearches in erudition, as he has had for deſign and painting. The little he ſays upon each figure is entirely conformable to what we read in Abraham Rogers. We find here the hiſtory of Wiſtnou, his transformations into a fiſh, an ape, an ox, an aſs, a horſe, a tortoiſe, or other animals. We ſee him under

* This manuſcript is numbered 7239. I was obliged to Mr. Lalier for it, who has that obliging and communicative diſpoſition which deſerves the place he poſſeſſes, and for which he is celebrated by all learned men.

the different names of *Peremaël*, *Eſvara*, *Iſura*, and others, all of a ſingular oddneſs, which engages the attention; in the 38th figure, he is carried upon the waves in a leaf, in the attitude in which he engenders Brama; join to that the fifty-ſecond, ſeventy-ſecond and eighty-fifth figures. The ninetieth repreſents Wiſtnou accompanied by two other perſons, and all three are reckoned to make but one perſon. Moſt of the Grecian and Egyptian divinities are deſigned pretty clearly, but accommodated to the genius and particular ſuperſtitions of the country. Of this kind are the *Jupiter Pluvialis* of whom Strabo ſpeaks, Neptune, Apollo, Mercury, Eſculapius, Diana, the ſun, the moon, &c. The virtues and vices have likewiſe their ſymbolical figures. But there is nothing which has any relation to Sommonacodon or his brother Thevatat. In all appearance the author had never been in Siam.

Order requires that we ſhould now treat of the temples and idols in the Indies. Both are called pagods, as well as a ſmall coin of the country to which they give that name, becauſe thoſe pieces carry always the impreſſion of an idol.

Nothing is more frequent in the Indies than temples or pagods. They have them in their cities, in their palaces, in private houſes, in the open fields, in foreſts and caverns, on the wayſides and the banks of rivers. Among this great number there are ſome private ones, almoſt unfrequented; others are publick for all the nation, and famous for the concourſe of the moſt

diſtant

distant provinces to them. The expences of the latter are very considerable, both for their decoration, and keeping up the lights which burn there perpetually, few of them having windows; for the subsistence of Bramins, Benjans and Talapoins; and for the donations which are distributed among the foreign pilgrims. To furnish all these expences the kings have granted them large revenues, which are raised by way of impost on all the merchandizes in which they trade in the neighbourhood (*r*). Baron Tavernier has left us a description of the four principal pagods of the country, those of Jagrenate, Banarou, Tripeti and Matura. It will be sufficient to give one as an example of the rest.

The pagod of Matura, on the road from Agra to Dely, is (*s*), like most of the rest, built in the form of a cross, whereof each wing is of equal extent. The stone of that edifice is remarkable. The colour is reddish; it is cut in the manner of our slate, and there are some pieces fifteen foot long and nine or ten broad, and sometimes only six inches in thickness. The temple is situated on a great platform of an octagon figure, laid all over with hewn stone. An edge of stone, which runs round it, divides it as it were into two stories, which are both filled with figures of animals in bas relief, principally of apes. The ascent to it is by two staircases of sixteen very narrow steps, one of which

(*r*) See Abraham Rogers, part ii. c. 10.
(*s*) Tavernier, t. i. c. 12. p. 157. &c.

lands

lands in the great portal of the pagod, and the other behind the choir. The outside like the platform is adorned with figures of animals, particularly rams, apes, and elephants cut in ſtone, with a great number of niches containing different monſters. In the middle of the edifice there is a very lofty cupola, with two ſmaller ones at its ſide. Theſe are pierced from top to bottom with ſeveral windows, from five to ſix feet in height, with a balcony before them, on which four perſons may ſtand abreaſt. All round theſe cupolas there are an infinite number of niches full of figures repreſenting demons. One has four arms, another four legs, or even more; there are ſome who have human heads on the bodies of beaſts, with horns and long tails covering their thighs. The eyes are terrified at the ſight of ſo many monſters which preſent themſelves on all ſides. The choir of the pagod is encloſed by a baluſtrade of ſmall ſtone columns from five to ſix inches in diameter; and (*t*) none are permitted to enter there but the principal Bramins. I aſked, ſays the author, ſome of them, if I could ſee the great *Ram-Ram*, that is, the principal idol. I obtained leave by means of two pieces of ſilver I put into their hands. They opened a ſmall gate, and I ſaw acroſs the baluſtrade ſomething like a ſquare altar, covered with an old brocade of gold and ſilver, on which the great idol was placed. It's head was only to be ſeen, which is of a very black marble, and the eyes are formed of two large rubies.

(*t*) Huet. demonſtrat, prop. vi. c. 6.

All

All the body is covered with a robe of red velvet, adorned with ſome embroideries; and the arms are not ſeen. It has at its ſide two ſmaller idols, as we already obſerved, of Sommonacodon, which are about two feet in height, of a white marble, and dreſſed in the ſame manner, but more ſimply: they are called *Beccher*. The author having enquired what was the uſe of a ſort of large coffer placed upon four wheels, and covered with a painted ſtuff, which repreſented a vaſt number of diabolical figures, the Bramins told him it was the portable altar on which they placed their great god, on ſolemn days, when he went to viſit the other gods, and when they carried him to the river Ganges, with all the people at their grand feaſt. The other idols of Wiſtnou, whoſe image ſeveral travellers have cauſed to be engraved in their accounts, differ from this, that their limbs are commonly ſeen, and they have four arms. Thoſe which the people in the country make for themſelves, and to which they fix any notion that comes in their head, are rather an object of ridicule than religion. They take ſome ſtone or piece of wood, on which they cut a noſe and eyes in a coarſe manner, and all the family runs to adore the god, which the leaſt glimmering of human reaſon ought to render contemptible.

It is true, they do not believe they are diſpenſed by this private idol from performing their devotion at one of the four great pagods we have named. Whether the cuſtom has ariſen in the country, or the mahometans have occaſioned it by

by their famous caravans to Mecca, it is certain that all the idolaters (*u*) under the dominion of the great mogul, and the other princes of the country within and beyond the Ganges, perform a pilgrimage at leaſt once in their life-time to one of the principal pagods. Commonly it is to that of Jagrenate, becauſe it lies on the Ganges, whoſe waters they hold in particular veneration. The Bramins and rich men perform it every four years, and others every ſix or eight. They carry the idols of their pagods on litters, and the inhabitants of everal villages or a whole city ſet out together to render the caravan more ſolemn. The poor, who come ſometimes from three or four hundred leagues diſtance, and are unable to ſupport the expences of the journey, are aſſiſted by the rich, who contribute largely to render this chief act of their religion more meritorious. Every one travels according to his circumſtances and quality; ſome in a palanquin or a litter carried on men's ſhoulders, ſome in chariots, many on oxen, and the poor a-foot; the mother is loaded with the children, and the father with proviſions. The Bramins diſtribute among the moſt conſiderable perſons five or ſix large fans about eight feet in height, and formed in a circular manner with a ſlight ſtuff reſembling a ſieve. Little bells and peacock feathers are fixed to it, to drive away the flies, and give air to the idol's face, who is ſeated on a cuſhion of velvet or brocade. From time to time the fans are changed, that others may partake of that honour. When

(*u*) Tavernier, t. iv. c. 13. Abraham Rogers, part ii. c. 13.

they

they arrive at that pagod which is the term of their pilgrimage, the principal bramins in it's ſervice enquire into the circumſtances of every pilgrim; they tax thoſe who are in a condition to diſtribute alms according to their ability, which alms they employ in the ſervice of the pagod, and maintenance of the poor. All the ceremony they practiſe in this place of their devotion, conſiſts in waſhing or bathing if they are near a large river, and preſenting themſelves before the great idol, where the principal Bramin rubs their forehead and noſe with a yellow ſtuff. By theſe means they hope to obtain remiſſion of ſins, and they are perſuaded that if a man or beaſt has the happineſs to die in one of the principal pagods, his ſoul will immediately enjoy the happineſs of Wiſtnou or Brama.

Theſe Bramins ſo much reſpected (*x*), are the deſcendants of the ancient Brachmans, of whom we have ſpoken in the firſt part of this hiſtory, and whoſe authority has increaſed from age to age. Their order holds to this day the firſt rank in the ſtate. The Vedam, which is reckoned to have been inſpired by heaven, altho' it is the work of one of them, confirms that preeminence to them (*y*), and gives them new privileges. They alone are allow'd to read, interpret, and even learn the Samſcortam or Balis language in which it is written. This ſtudy is the principal or only buſineſs of their life; they

(*x*) Bernard Picard ſpeaks of them at length in his *religions of the world*, t. 1.

(*y*) Abraham Rogers, part i.

apply

apply themſelves to it as ſoon as the firſt glimmerings of reaſon begin to appear; they glory in their progreſs; and all pretend to diſcover new ſenſes in it.

The elevation, the multiplicity and character of the ſubjects treated of, opens a vaſt field to exerciſe themſelves in. In the firſt part, the Vedam treats of the firſt cauſe, of the matter of which the elements are formed; of angels, of the ſoul, of the rewards of the good, and the puniſhment of the wicked; of the generation of animals and their corruption; of ſin, of it's principle, and the means of obtaining forgiveneſs for it. The ſecond preſcribes laws to the ſuperiors of the firſt order. The third is entirely on the rules of morality, to encourage virtue and inſpire the horror of vice. The fourth directs the worſhip, the decoration of the temples, and the ceremonies to be obſerved at the feſtivals and ſacrifices. But the Bramins ſay that it has been long loſt, and that they ſuffer all the inconveniences of this misfortune, by the loſs of the power, rank and credit which this part of the Vedam attributed to them.

Yet they know and make their advantage of their order's being more reſpected than all the reſt; of princes reckoning themſelves no leſs honoured by being members of it than wearing the crown; of their filling by means of this title the places of ſecretaries, ambaſſadors and counſellors of ſtate; and of the ſtate's being obliged to provide for the ſubſiſtence of thoſe whom fortune has neglected. The deference,

ference, reſpect and veneration of the people are ſtill greater. They conſult them alone; they allow of no knowledge or ſcience but amongſt them; their words are regarded as ſentences; and their deciſions paſs for oracles. Along all the coaſt of Malabar (*z*), when a Bramin enters into a houſe, it's maſter immediately withdraws, yields his place to him, and leaves him alone with his wife. They have temples and pretended monaſteries to which young girls are bound (*a*). They cauſe them to come on certain ſolemn days; they drink, eat, ſing and dance with them in honour of their gods, and ſend them back to their parents after the feaſt; but this aſſociation ends when they are married. At the nuptials they have another privilege anſwerable to the firſt abuſe. The young ſpouſe (*b*) carries his bride to a Bramin; he begs him to keep her with him as long as he thinks fit; and frequently he rewards him at taking her away, becauſe they are perſuaded that a marriage begun by a Bramine, cannot fail of being happy. Married men who go abroad, leave their wives with one of theſe impoſtors, and pray him to ſupply their place during their abſence.

The Bramins owe that confidence and ſuperiority only to the extreme ignorance of the Indians, whom they abuſe by all means capable

(*z*) Mandelſlo, p. 269.
(*a*) Marco Paulo, c. 24.
(*b*) Mandelſlo, p. 166.

of

of impoſing on them. This they do by the apparent ſeverity of their lives, which have all the externals of a ſevere penitence; by faſtings of three or four days, which they paſs in a general abſtinence; by the functions they exerciſe at ſacrifices; by their excluſive right to ſtudy the Vedam, whoſe ſenſe and myſteries the people are perſuaded they alone comprehend; by their inſtructing the youth in reading, writing and arithmetick; and the principles of a religion which makes them all depend on them; by the falſe miracles they attribute to their gods; and laſtly, by their interpretation of auguries and celeſtial appearances, and the ravings of judicial aſtrology which they particularly ſtudy. We refer the reader to Abraham Rogers and Bernard Picard for the difference of the ſects into which they are divided. All of them are diſtinguiſhed by the triple cord (*c*), which they wear about their neck from five years of age, and which hangs down on their breaſt. As they attribute to it all manner of honours, they ſometimes grant it by a ſingular favour to perſons of another claſs, as an acknowledgement for their zeal and benefactions.

The Benjans compoſe another body more numerous, and almoſt as famous. They reckon eighty-three principal ſects of them (*d*), without counting the leſs conſiderable ones, which are almoſt infinite, becauſe almoſt every family

(*c*) Abrah. Rogers, part i. c. 8.
(*d*) Mandelſlo, p. 166.

has

has its particular ſuperſtitions and ceremonies. The Banjans are not ſo much a particular ſociety as a ſpecies of men, who value themſelves on the regularity and laborioufneſs of their lives. There are amongſt them lock-ſmiths, farriers, carpenters, taylors, ſhoemakers, cutlers, ſoldiers, writers, and all other trades. Thoſe of the ſect *Ceurawath*, are moſt reſpected, and from amongſt them their prieſts are choſen.

The publick worſhip which the Bramins refuſe to the devil is ſolemnly paid him by this new ſpecies of ſacrificers. In the king of Calicut's palace, there is a temple (*e*) of an ordinary ſize, whoſe inſide is wholly filled with figures of the devil, as frightful as can be painted here, and no larger than a medal. It has no light but what is given by a multitude of lamps. In the midſt of this kind of cavern is a copper throne, whereon a devil formed of the ſame metal is ſeated, with a tiara of ſeveral rows on his head, three large horns, and four others that ſpring out of his forehead. He has a large gaping mouth, out of which come four teeth like the tuſks of a boar; he has a hawk's noſe, large ſquinting eyes, a face frightfully enflamed, fingers crooked like talons, and feet like a cock's. On his tongue and in his hand there are two figures almoſt round, which the Indians ſay are ſouls that he is preparing to devour. The Benjan prieſts who ſerve this frightful monſter, are obliged to waſh him every morning with

(*d*) Peter Van-Baerdem. Collection of voyages, t. iii, p. 680.

roſe water, or ſome other perfumed liquor, and to ſpread ſweets around him. They fall on their knees to perfume him; addreſs their prayers, vows and offerings to him in that poſture; and ſacrifice to him once every week. The prieſt, after having put on buſkins made of ſilver plates, covers the altar with flowers, perfumes and ſpices; he throws ſome on burning coals which ſend forth a thick ſmoke, thro' which the idol cannot be perceived. Then he ſacrifices a cock with a ſilver knife ſet apart for that purpoſe, and the blood of the victim is conſumed along with the perfumes. While it is evaporating, the Benjan takes a little corn in his hand, and goes backward out of the pagod, having his eyes always fixed on the idol, till he comes to a tree without the bounds of the temple, where he ſcatters his corn, then puts his hands on his head, returns to the altar, and diveſts himſelf of his ornaments.

The life, manners and cuſtoms of the Benjans are a ſeries of ridiculous ſuperſtitions. In thoſe their whole religion conſiſts; for it cannot be ſaid they have any fixed notion of a God. Prejudiced with a circle of metempſychoſes *(f)*, they acknowledge neither heaven nor hell; they maintain that the ſouls paſs continually from one body to another, either of man or beaſt. An unknown deſtiny is, according to them, the principle of the univerſe, and the arbiter of all events; they believe notwithſtand-

(f) Madelſlo, p. 167, &c.

ing

ing that the ſun, moon and ſtars, the earth, animals, trees, metals, and all other viſible things, have within themſelves the firſt cauſes of their exiſtence and motion; and that there are two ſuns and as many moons which appear alternately. The devotees have always a bruſh in their hands, with which they clean the places where they ſit and walk, for fear of cruſhing ſome inſect in which the ſoul of a relation, friend or good man might be lodged. On the ſame account they neither make fires nor light candles in their houſes; and they dare not drink cold water, leſt they kill ſome animal, but have it boiled among their leſs ſcrupulous neighbours. At all times they have their head and feet bare, and carry a white ſtaff in their hands. All their cloathing is a piece of ſtuff which hangs from their middle to the knee; ſome add to it a piece of cloath of the bigneſs of a ſheep ſkin, with which they cover their breaſt. Their prieſts alone are dreſſed in a long robe, with a cap of folded ſtuff, ſomewhat like a turban. Their wives are dreſſed in a manner which ſhews their ſhape to advantage, altho' their habit is open before from the neck to the middle. They are more expenſive in their dreſs than any of their nation, both in the riches of their ſtuffs, and the pearls and precious ſtones which they wear on their heads and bracelets. They value themſelves on having black teeth, and compare thoſe who have white ones to apes and dogs. The law of the Benjans diſpenſes with their burning themſelves with their huſ-

bands, and obliges them only to remain in perpetual widowhood. Thoſe who cannot conform to this rule, muſt enter among the publick dancers and players; and like them bear an infamous character (*g*).

Beſides the Benjans, there is in the kingdm of Guzarate another ſet of pagans, called Parſis. They were originally Perſians (*h*), who retired thither in the ſeventh century, when Abubeker the firſt caliph attempted to eſtabliſh mahometaniſm amongſt them. The prince who reigned then over Perſia and Choraſan, finding himſelf unable to make reſiſtance, embarked with eighteen thouſand men at Ormus, and landed in Indoſtan. The king of Cambala, a pagan like himſelf, received him, allowed him to ſtay in his dominions, and live there as he pleaſed. This liberty of worſhip drew a great many Perſians thither from time to time, who bear an irreconcileable hatred to mahometaniſm, and have preſerved their manners and religion. The hatred the mahometans bear to them is equal; and on that account Tamerlane (*i*) maſſacred ſo great a number of the Guebres, who are the ſame with the Parſis, when he made himſelf maſter of the Indies. Tavernier calls them *Gautes*.

(*g*) Olearius deſcribes the dances and manners of theſe women in his voyage to Perſia, p. 720. See alſo the ancient Arabian accounts, p. 56.

(*h*) Mandelſlo, p. 180, &c.

(*i*) D. Herbelot, at the word *Timour*. And Petis de la Croix, hiſt. of Timour, l. iii. c. 24. p. 207.

They

They believe in one God, creator and preſerver of the univerſe, who acts ſolely and immediately in all things; who nevertheleſs has truſted the ſubordinate adminiſtration of his creatures to ſeven of his principal ſervants, and to twenty-ſix more of an inferior order, who are obliged to give him an account of their conduct. Being perſuaded that every one of them has an abſolute power over the things wherewith God has entruſted them, they adore and invoke them, and are convinced that God refuſes them nothing. There is no created thing ſo valuable and ſacred, or that repreſents the divinity ſo perfectly as fire (*l*). They preſerve it religiouſly; they dare not put out a light, nor extinguiſh a fire by means of water, tho' it ſhould threaten to conſume their own houſes and the neighbourhood; they are only permitted to throw earth upon it in order to ſtifle the flame. The greateſt misfortune that can befall them, is to have the fire in their hearths ſo far extinguiſhed that they are obliged to have it kindled elſewhere. They have no temples nor publick places for the exerciſe of their religion. They uſe private houſes for their common aſſemblies, which are held the firſt and twentieth day of every moon. Their prieſts are clad like the reſt, and are only diſtinguiſhed by a plain belt of wool or camel's hair, which is tied to their back by two knots. This ſymbol of religion is ſo dear to them, that if it is accidentally loſt, they will neither eat,

(*l*) See Tavernier, l. iv. c. 8.

drink, ſpeak, nor move from the place where they are till they get another from the prieſt who ſells them.

They hold thoſe prieſts and doctors in great veneration. The Parſis furniſh them liberally with ſubſiſtence for their wives and children; altho' ſome of them do not neglect buſineſs. But thoſe are moſt eſteemed who employ themſelves in teaching their children to write and read, and in inſtructing the people in the law. Their law forbids them to eat any thing that has had life, which is a rule they never diſpenſe with but in caſes of neceſſity and in time of war. Then they allow themſelves the uſe of mutton, veniſon, fiſh and fowl. The elephant, the camel, the horſe, the hare, and ſtill more the ox and the cow, are reckoned ſacred animals among them; they heſitate not to ſay, that they would rather eat of their father and mother than of the laſt. An exceſs in wine is an abominable ſin in their eyes, and they are obliged to expiate it by a ſevere penitence, on pain of being excluded from their communion. Adultery, and other crimes of that kind, are in their opinion ſo enormous, that they would puniſh them with death, if they had the adminiſtration of juſtice. But the ancient kings and the moguls have always refuſed them this. They are only allowed to chuſe ſome of the moſt conſiderable of their nation to determine the private differences that may ariſe amongſt them. When a Parſis is ſeized with a diſtemper evidently mortal, they take him from his bed and place him on a turf. As ſoon as he expires,

expires, they carry him to a burial place ſurrounded with high walls, that he may be there food to the birds of prey. Afterwards they inter his bones, and along with them that turf on on which he breathed his laſt. They attribute to the Parſis, not without reaſon, the having introduced into the Indies that great feſtival (*m*) celebrated there in honour of the ſun; for it is well known that at all times this luminary was the principal object of the Perſian worſhip.

The bounds we have preſcribed to ourſelves will not permit us to enter into a greater detail of the different religious ſects in the mogul's country and on the coaſt of Malabar. Altho' they are multiplied almoſt to infinity, becauſe they all draw their origin from the ridiculous imaginations of men, yet they are connected in ſome eſſential points with the doctrine of the Bramins or of the Benjans. The Goeghy are alone advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, by ſomewhat of more purity in their tenets. As much as the contraſt of their regular and auſtere life makes them hated by the chiefs of another ſect, ſo much are they loved, regarded and reſpected by the people, who aſk their bleſſing in an humble manner whenever they meet them. They believe (*n*), that their god *Bruin* has created all ſublunary ſubſtances, and that the infinite power by which he ſubſiſts them, can likewiſe annihilate and deſtroy them. They ſay

(*m*) See Rogers, part ii. c. 13.
(*n*) Mandelſlo, p. 175.

he cannot be repreſented under any figure of man or beaſt, but that he is a light ſuperior to our eyes and underſtanding; and that having created the ſun, it is not to be wondered at if we cannot contemplate or imagine the principle of ſo admirable a ſplendor. They neither acknowledge the metempſychoſis nor its conſequences. On the contrary, they ſay when their ſouls leave their bodies, they go immediately to the god *Bruin*, to live eternally with him and be united with his light. The faſts and auſterities they practiſe are almoſt incredible.

Their doctrine and manner of life reſembles thoſe of the Talapoins in many articles. Theſe Siameſe prieſts (*o*), whoſe regularity exalts them above all others, ſtrictly obſerve a ſyſtem of moral doctrine, from which they never deviate. It contains above one hundred and twenty articles, the principal of which are, to be every morning and evening at the temple to ſay their prayers; to be entirely covered; never to touch a woman; not to ſpeak with one alone; nor even to look on them when they meet them in the ſtreets; to walk with great modeſty with their eyes on the ground; to carry always a fan with them, and to cover their face with it, in order to prevent the wandring of the ſight; never to conſent to a wicked thought; not to prepare their food themſelves, but to take that which is given them; to live on what they beg in the city, without entering into houſes; and to wait at the door no longer

(*o*) Mandelſlo, p. 323, &c. Pere Tachard's travels in Siam, p. 418, &c. La Loubere, t. i. c. 17.

than

than an ox might drink; to teach the law to their diſciples and the people; to mortify themſelves and do penance a whole year ſeveral times in their life-time; one part whereof conſiſts in remaining expoſed to the nightly dew in the open fields during half the month of February; to confeſs their ſins to one another; never to eat but once a day in the months of July, Auguſt and September; to repeat certain words in the Balie language on a chaplet of eight hundred or a hundred and eighty beads (I have ſeen the Turks do the ſame;) never to ſalute a layman; to be mild and humane to all the world; to ranſom ſlaves and lodge pilgrims; to do them all the good in their power; to be ſincere and ſtrict obſervers of truth; to ſhave their head, their beard and eyebrows frequently; to go always bare headed, &c.

They frequently make diſcourſes to the people, to exhort them to the practice of virtue, particularly liberality to men and beaſts. The preacher is ſeated croſs-legged, on a little theatre covered with a carpet. He begins his diſcourſe with ſome ſentence of the Sommonacodon, then he explains the fabulous myſteries of that book by metaphors, compariſons, and parables, in the Oriental taſte. The people on their knees hear him with great reſpect, and from time to time lift up their joined hands, crying out, *The word of God, the pure truth.* There are certain days on which they preach from ſix in the morning till ſix at night, without any other interruption than relieving the Talapoin, who has ſpoke ſix hours.

hours. Theſe long ſermons do not tire the audience, who keep themſelves in continual attention, without daring to ſpit or turn their heads. The preachers often become rich all at once by the liberal collections they receive at every ſermon.

A life ſo ſolitary and addicted to contemplation augments the reſpect the people have for them. The real Talapoins never appear in the cities but to exerciſe the functions of their miniſtry, or to ſeek their ſubſiſtence. They live after the manner of monks (*p*), in convents encloſed by reeds or canes, wherein there are one or more rows of cells which form a regular circuit. In the midſt is the temple of Sommonacodon, ſurrounded with pyramids and a wall which has only one or two openings. Theſe cells are little diſtinct houſes, raiſed upon poſts ſome feet above the ground. The ſuperiors have the ſame, but a little higher and larger than the reſt. They are ſeparated from the incloſure of the temple by a large ſpot of ground like the court of a convent. Sometimes that incloſure is only a ſimple wall ſurrounding the ſpace which the temple and the pyramids take up; ſometimes there are covered galleries like thoſe called cloiſters in our religious houſes; and they place a great number of idols, moſt of which are gilded, on a counter-wall about breaſt-high, which runs along thoſe galleries. Every convent is governed by a ſuperior, called *Sancrat*, who has no authority or juriſdiction over another. They alledge that body would be too formidable, if they had only

(*p*) La Loubere, t. i. c. xvii.

one

one head, and acted together in concert. Although there is no ſubordination among them, there are yet ſome more diſtinguiſhed than the reſt. To the principal ones the king of Siam gives a title, an umbrella, a chair, and men to carry it. But they never uſe that equipage but when they go to viſit the king; and the Talapoins never carry it. The chief buſineſs of the ſancrat is to have an eye over the community, and over the ſchools where the Talapoins are charged with the inſtruction of youth, and of thoſe who incline to embrace their order.

To conſider only the auſterity of their rule, it is not at firſt view eaſy to be perceived, how their number comes to be ſo great, and even how men are to be found ignorant of the value and true reward of virtue. But pride, a ſecret ſelf-complacency, the eſteem of the people, and above all, the ſpirit of idleneſs, are the motives which engage them thereto. The greateſt part having no eſtates or buſineſs, live eaſily on the donations which the people reckon themſelves happy to give them, in order to expiate their faults; the king of Siam has likewiſe a right to employ his ſubjects all the year in publick works, and the Talapoins alone are exempted during ſix months. As it is his intereſt that their profeſſion ſhould have its difficulties, for fear all the world ſhould embrace it, he takes care that their laws ſhould be rigorouſly obſerved. He is chiefly inexorable with reſpect to the article of continence, the breach whereof is always puniſhed by fire. Beſides, to diminiſh their number, he cauſes them

them to be examined with reſpect to their learning, and it ſometimes happens that ſeveral thouſands of them are ſtruck off, under pretence of ignorance or incapacity.

We may join to the Talapoins another ſpecies of pretended hermits, which are ſpread throughout all the Indies. Theſe are Faquirs (*q*) or voluntary beggars, of whom baron Tavernier pretends they reckon above eight hundred thouſand in the Indies. Although ſome are idolaters and others mahometans (*r*), their manner of life and maxims are pretty nearly the ſame. There is no ſect ſo extravagant, or addicted to ſo many infamous impoſtures. The Faquirs cannot be confounded with the common people. Some pride themſelves in an infamous wickedneſs contrary to nature, and a filthy ſluttiſhneſs offenſive to all the ſenſes. The razor and comb never touch their perſons. A large tufted beard, and hair extremely long and briſtly, cover their burnt and tawny ſkins. Thoſe who are cloathed affect to have only miſerable tatters of all pieces, which conceal but one part of their body. Both the one and the other being ſolely intent on impoſing on the ſimple people, dreſs themſelves in an outſide of poverty and the deepeſt penitence. They ſend forth without ceaſing frightful cries and lamentations for their own ſins, and thoſe of the people. It is, they ſay, to expiate theſe, that

(*q*) This Arabian word properly ſignifies a religious perſon, according to Mr. d'Herbelot at the word *Sofi*.

(*r*) Tavern. l. iii. c. 2. Catrou, hiſt. of the moguls, and Bernard Ricard, who has treated of them at large in his firſt volume.

they

they renounce all the pleaſures of life, and that they put themſelves in the moſt painful poſtures. Some keep themſelves on one foot during ſeveral hours, others keep their arms almoſt always ſtraight and raiſed above their heads; ſome diſtort their bodies, and others beat and mortify themſelves; but all have an enormous iron chain two yards in length dragging at their legs. Sometimes they gather together to the number of two hundred, and chuſe a chief or ſuperior, who is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by being the moſt ragged. They aſſemble in publick places at the ſound of a horn; they ſpread a carpet on which their chief ſits down; and while they are praying after their manner, they make a frightful noiſe with their voices and chains. They boaſt of a prophetick ſpirit, and the virtue of making women fertile, on which account moſt part of the ſex entertain a ſingular veneration for them. They conſult them with confidence and reſpect, and offer them preſents which are never refuſed; it would not be proper to publiſh to what a pitch they carry their deference, credulity, homages and weakneſs. Some mahometan Faquirs have many wives, and defend their polygamy by profeſſing to produce a greater number of ſervants to their prophet.

We ſhall end the hiſtory of the Indian paganiſm with an account of the cruelleſt of their ſuperſtitions. There are none of the almoſt infinite number of travellers who have gone thro' that country, who do not mention the abominable cuſtom which the women have to burn themſelves

ſelves publickly at the death of their huſbands *, in ſpite of the repreſentations and prohibitions of the mogul mahometans, who have endeavoured to aboliſh that barbarous ceremony. Mandelſlo, a traveller of the greateſt learning and veracity, had the curioſity to aſſiſt at one of theſe funeral rites, when he was at Cambaya, and he ſpeaks of it in this manner. "A young woman (s) twenty years of age having been informed that her ſpouſe had died two hundred leagues from Cambaya, reſolved to celebrate his obſequies by burning herſelf alive. In vain it was repreſented to her that the news was uncertain; nothing was capable of making her change the reſolution ſhe had taken. We ſaw her arrive at the place of her ſuffering with ſo extraordinary a gaiety and confidence, that I was perſuaded ſhe had ſtupified her ſenſes by means of opium, the uſe of which is very common in the Indies and Perſia. At the head of the retinue which accompanied her, was a band of the country muſick compoſed of hautboys and kettledrums. After that came ſeveral married women and maids, who ſung and danced before the widow, who was dreſſed in her richeſt cloaths, and had her neck, fingers, arms and legs loaded with rich collars, jewels and bracelets. A troop of men, women and children followed her, and cloſed her retinue. She had waſhed herſelf before in the river, that ſhe might join her huſband without any defilement or ſtain. The funeral pile was

* See Diodorus Siculus, l. xix. p. 678, &c.

(s) Mandelſlo, p. 103.

made

made of apricot wood, with which they had mixed branches of ſandal and cinnamon. She beheld it from afar with an eye of contempt, and approached it without being diſturbed; ſhe took leave of her friends and relations, and diſtributed her ornaments amongſt them. I kept myſelf near her on horſeback along with two Engliſh merchants. Judging perhaps by my countenance that I was ſorry for her, to comfort me ſhe threw me one of her bracelets, which I luckily catched hold of. When ſhe was ſeated on the top of the pile, they ſet fire to it, and ſhe poured on her head a veſſel of ſweet-ſmelling oil, which the flames immediately ſeized on; thus ſhe was ſtifled in a moment without being obſerved to alter her countenance. Some of the aſſiſtants threw in ſeveral cruiſes of oil to increaſe the fire, and filled the air with frightful cries. When ſhe was entirely conſumed, her aſhes were thrown into the river."

The Indians ſay that this barbarous cuſtom was introduced among them, to put a ſtop to the cruel jealouſy of their wives, who not being able to bear that others ſhould partake of the ſame marriage, had frequently poiſoned their huſbands out of jealouſy; and that to oblige them to preſerve their lives, they were obliged to end theirs with them, or to renounce their reputation by entering among the publick dancers. They always had the precaution to animate their courage, by aſſuring them * that thoſe who had the noble generoſity to ſacrifice themſelves to

* Mandelſlo, p. 171.

the

the manes of their huſbands, ſhould live with them in the other world ſeven times as long, and with ſeven times the pleaſure they had done in this.

The men themſelves give them an example of this barbarous exertion of courage. An Arabian traveller relates (*t*), that thro' all the kingdoms of the Indies, there are people who deliberately commit themſelves to the flames. This practice is founded on their notions of the metempſychoſis, which paſſes amongſt them for an undoubted truth. With reſpect to this ſome kings obſerve a particular ceremony on their acceſſion to the crown. A great quantity of rice is boiled and put upon large leaves, and when it is ready, three or four hundred perſons of their own accord preſent themſelves before the king. After he has eaten of the rice, he gives a little to every one as they approach one after another, and they eat it in his preſence, all ſwearing at the ſame time to commit themſelves to the flames the day that he ſhall die or be ſlain; and they put faithfully in execution what they have promiſed, throwing themſelves all to a man in the fire.

Beſides this, when a man has reſolved to burn himſelf, he goes firſt to the king's palace to aſk his permiſſion; having obtained it, he makes the tour of the city, and then appears at the place where the pile is prepared with a quantity of dry wood. Several perſons ſtir up the fire till the pile is all in flames. The man who is to deſtroy himſelf arrives, preceded by ſeveral inſtruments

(*t*) Ancient accounts, p. 98, &c.

of

of muſick, and goes round the place in the midſt of his friends and relations. One of them places a crown of ſtraw or dry herbs on his head, which is filled with burning coals. And on theſe they pour ſandarax, which takes fire as quickly as naphtha. He ſtill continues his progreſs, altho' the top of his head is on fire, and people feel the ſmell of his burnt fleſh. But he betrays no ſenſation of pain, and when he comes before the pile he throws himſelf in, and is ſoon reduced to aſhes.

One of thoſe madmen carried his cruelty upon himſelf one day to a much higher pitch. Before he threw himſelf into the fire, he laid his breaſt open even to his lower belly; he pulled out his liver, and cut a piece of it off which he gave to one of his brothers, ſpeaking all the time, and ſhewing a great contempt of death, and an inconceivable patience in his torments. They ſeldom come to this extremity but when they find themſelves weakened by old age. Then they determine to quit life before it quits them, hoping that this act of bravery will render them happy in the body into which they ſhall enter after their death.

SECT. II.

Of the Indian Jews.

THE commerce of the Indies being ſo advantageous, it may be conceived that the jews have as little neglected it as other nations. But it is not eaſy to fix the time when they firſt entered the Indies. This is a point which their fables have rendered obſcure (*t*), and about which the learned are divided. Benjamin the famous jew, ſurnamed of Tudèlle, from the place of his birth in the kingdom of Navarre, and who travelled thro' Europe, Aſia and Africa towards the end of the twelfth century, ſays in his account (*u*), that the tribes of Dan, Zebulon, Aſher and Naphthali dwelt at the eaſtern extremities of Perſia, whither Salmanaſar had tranſported them; that returning from Samarcande he embarked on the Tigris, and in ten days ſailing arrived at a country where there is bezoar, a pearl-fiſhery, and all kinds of ſpices in abundance, where the heat is exceſſive, and the people are black and worſhip the ſun; all which evidently points out Cape-Comorin near the iſland of Ceylon. He gives the name of *Katiphan* to the capital of the country, and adds that fifty thouſand jews were then there. This teſtimony would be deciſive, if the criticks (*x*) had not ob-

(*t*) See a diſſertation on this article by the abbé de Renaudot, at the end of the Arabian travellers, p. 394.

(*u*) Travels of Benjamin, p. 48, & 52.

(*x*) Pierre Bergeron, treatiſe on the Tartars, c. 15.

ſerved

ſerved that the author renders himſelf too often ſuſpected of adulterating the truth, by endeavouring to make it believed that the jews poſſeſſed entire kingdoms, in order to elude the force of thoſe prophecies which are objected againſt them.

We likewiſe read in the fourth book of Eſdras *(y)*, that many jews of the ten tribes carried off by Salmanaſar who were faithful to their law, reſolved to ſeparate themſelves from the idolatrous nations, amongſt whom they had been baniſhed, that they wandered for a year and a half beyond the Euphrates, and arrived at laſt at an uninhabited country, where they eſtabliſhed themſelves, and will remain till God ſhall recall them at the end of ages. But the church not having given the authority of the ſacred books to this work, we are allowed to doubt of the viſion which the author relates in this place, and the marvellons with which it is filled renders it ſtill leſs credible.

It is an ancient tradition (*z*), that part of thoſe jews who were led captive in the time of Salmanaſar paſſed to Cachemire, and that the Cachemirians are certainly deſcended from them. Altho' there is no veſtige of the jewiſh religion to be found there, all the people being either gentiles or mahometans, yet ſome traces of a nation deſcended from the Iſraelites may be perceived. The air of the countenance, and the phy-

(y) 4 Eſdras, c. xiii. v. 40.
(*z*) Catrou, hiſt. of the moguls, p. 135.

ſiognomy of thoſe people have ſomething of that which diſtinguiſhes the jews, and makes them known among all other nations. The name of Moſes is very common there, and there are ſtill ſome ancient monuments which mark out the remains of a building on a high mountain, which is called to this day the throne of Solomon.

Father Carpin, who was ſent by Innocent the IVth to the king of the Tartars in 1246, mentions an entire country of jews (*a*), which the prince of that nation had ſubdued; and it is very probable that a part of them paſſed to the Indies after the Tartars had conquered them.

Mark Paul is more circumſtantial. He affirms that he ſaw a great number of jews ſettled in the peninſula within the Ganges (*b*), who to diſtinguiſh themſelves bore the mark of an hot iron on their lips and breaſt.

It is certain, ſays Frederick Spanheim (*c*), that the jews have inſenſibly ſettled themſelves in the Indies, as well as in Perſia, Hyrcania, Parthia, Carmania, China, Japan, and from thence in America (*d*), where our lateſt travellers have imagined they perceived ſome veſtiges of the ceremonial law.

Since the Indies have been ſo well known to us, the great ſettlements the jews have made there can no longer be called in queſtion (*e*).

(*a*) Carpin, voyage to Tartary, c. 7.
(*b*) Mark Paul, l. iii. c. 43.
(*c*) Spanheim, introd. ad ſacram geogr. c. 7. p. 67.
(*d*) Idem, ad calcem operis.
(*e*) Mandelſlo, p. 258. Collection of Dutch voyages, t. iii. p. 630. & t. vi. p. 470.

They

They have eſtabliſhments at Cochin, Goa, and ſeveral cities in Malabar. Their ſynagogues in theſe places are both numerous and very publick, they perform their ſervice agreeable to their corrupted uſages, which vary univerſally, and not according to the law of Moſes. At Goa they enjoy unbounded liberty in ſpite of the rigors of the inquiſition, and the hatred of the Portugueze. Never a day paſſes without jews from Paleſtine, either to trade or to ſettle in one of the fineſt provinces of the kingdom of Cochin, whereof they have obtained the grant from the prince. But notwithſtanding they are very much eſteemed, and the king often makes uſe of them in his councils, we do not find they make a great many proſelites in the country.

I do not know, ſays Mr. Du Pin *(f)*, what to think of a long letter in the Hebrew tongue, which the jews of Cochin ſome years ago ſent to the ſynagogue of Amſterdam. They ſay that they retired into the Indies at the time that the Romans conquered the Holy Land; that in the ſpace of a thouſand years they have had a ſucceſſion of ſeventy-two kings; and that thro' the diviſions kindled by the jealouſy of two brothers who diſputed the crown, the neighbouring princes had ſubdued them; that from this time they were ſubjected to the ſovereigns of the country. They add, that they had given ſo many proofs of their fidelity to thoſe princes, that Samuel Caſtoel, who died in the year 1640, had been governor of Cochin, and had left his government

(f) Du Pin, hiſt. of the Jews, l. v. c. 26.

to a man of the ſame name and the ſame religion. I will not pretend to decide whether this letter is ſuppoſitious or not, ſays this learned hiſtorian, for I have no proofs of its being ſo. But however, this ſucceſſion of two and ſeventy kings, founded on the retreat of the jews in the time of Titus, appears to me to be invented to ſupport the glory of the nation.

SECT. III.

Of the Indian Mahometans.

THE eſtabliſhment of the religion of Mahomet (*g*) in the Indies, is a point in hiſtory, which would require very tedious reſearches into the revolutions in the middle age. This is a ſubject which very few know any thing about, altho' it as well deſerves to be known as the ancient monarchies of the Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Perſians. The nearneſs of time would render this ſtudy more agreeable and more inſtructive. The ſubject obliges us to ſpeak of it; but all that we can ſay, is only to give a very ſlight ſketch of it, which will be as it were the profile of three great hiſtories which cannot be ſeparated, that of the Saracens, that of the Turks, and that of the Tartars.

We very ſoon diſcern the effects of the fun-

(*g*) Thoſe who would dive to the bottom of the mahometan religion may conſult the fifth volume of Bernard Picard, who has handled that ſubject with a good deal of erudition.

damental

damental principle which Mahomet had given his new diſciples, to defend his tenets againſt all gainſayers by force of arms, promiſing the honour of martyrdom to all who ſhould die fighting for his religion, and commanding them to put to the ſword all who ſhould dare to contradict or diſpute it. By the help of this maxim, which they never forgot, the prophet of Mecca armed his followers, kindled the torch of war in Arabia under the pretext of reformation, ſubdued it almoſt univerſally, which no conqueror of antiquity ever could; Syria could not withſtand him, and in the compaſs of eight years continued expeditions, which laſted to the day of his death, he reared a kingdom perfectly well eſtabliſhed, whoſe dominion extended over a tract of country four hundred leagues every way. Abubeker, who had the title of Caliph, that is to ſay, his vicar or ſucceſſor, left nothing undone to accompliſh the deſigns of ſo great a maſter. He entered Perſia at the head of an army of Arabs; over-run it with fire and ſword; overthrew the temples; deſtroyed whole cities; ſhed ſtreams of blood on all hands; ſubjected to his power (*), and to the doctrines of the alcoran, all that vaſt region ſtretching from the Euphrates to the frontiers of India and the Caſpian ſea; and overturned the throne of the Perſian monarchs, which had ſubſiſted four hundred years from its re-eſtabliſhment by Artaxerxes in the

(*) With reſpect to theſe advancements, ſee the remarkable diſſertation of the abbé Renaudot on the entry of the mahometans into China, p. 274, & ſeq.

year two hundred and thirty-three. Thus Perſia continued under the domination of the caliphs of Bagdad and Damaſcus, by means of the governors or ſultans whom they ſent thither.

They had already enjoyed it 414 years when it was wreſted from them by a ſudden and remarkable revolution, which they were far from expecting. The ambition and treachery of one of their ſultans was the occaſion of it. For near five centuries before this period of time, the Turks had begun to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſouthern regions of Aſia; and it is remarkable that in the year 569, commonly ſuppoſed to have been that of Mahomet's birth, they ſent ambaſſadors to the emperor Juſtin to propoſe an alliance with him, and to obtain leave to trade in ſilk at Conſtantinople, and in the empire.

It is generally thought, tho' without any proofs, that this people was originally of Turkeſtan which lies beyond Thibet. I am certain, on the other hand, that all the Byzantine hiſtorians ſay, they came from the provinces above the Caſpian ſea, to the eaſtward of the land of the Goths. This was the place of their habitation during four hundred years, in which time they made frequent incurſions on the land of the Saracens, which they ravaged after the manner of the ancient Scythians from whom they deſcended, ſatisfying themſelves with the booty they carried off into their own country. By degrees they eſtabliſhed themſelves between the Caſpian ſea and Pontus Euxinus.

They

They were ſettled there in 1048, when Mahomet ſon of Imbrael, ſultan of Perſia, made propoſals to Tangropilix or Togrulbec, one of their chiefs, to aſſiſt him with his troops in taking vengeance for ſome inſults he pretended to have received from an Arabian prince, promiſing to reward him generouſly for his ſervices. Tangropilix accepted his offers, and entered Perſia at the head of a formidable army, which joining with the Perſians totally defeated the Arabs. After having put the ſultan in poſſeſſion of their territories, Tangropilix demanded the reward they had agreed on; but Mahomet was too well pleaſed with their valour to diſmiſs them ſo ſoon. He required them to accompany him to the conqueſt of the Indies, which he had reſolved on, and ordered at the ſame time all his garriſons that guarded the paſſes of the Tigris to be reinforced, that he might detain them in Perſia againſt their will. The Turks enraged at that ſtroke of perfidy, declared war againſt the ſultan. The two armies, which had fought hitherto in concert, were now engaged againſt one another; many battles were fought, and in the laſt action Mahomet was left dead on the field of battle. Tangropilix, now maſter of ſo fine a country, propoſed to the Turks to ſettle there, and ſend for their wives and children. He had no great difficulty to perſuade them, but being ſtill pagans, he remonſtrated to them, that in order to gain the affection of a people who hated them only on account of the difference in religion,

gion, they muſt remove this laſt obſtacle to their tranquillity.

With this view he and all his people embraced the religion of Mahomet; and ſeizing theſe favourable moments which had juſt rendered them maſters of ſo vaſt and renowned an empire, they carried their triumphant arms into Armenia, Syria, and even to the extremities of Aſia Minor within ſight of Conſtantinople. Afterwards, and with the ſame ſucceſs, they undertook what the Saracens had not ventured or been able to perform on the ſide of the eaſt. Inheriting alike their valour, their dominions and doctrines, they carried victory along with them into Sogdiana, Bactria and Thibet, where many of them ſettled; which has given the name of Turkeſtan to one of thoſe provinces; and they forced all the conquered nations to conform to that religion which they themſelves had newly embraced (*b*).

This is evident from the hiſtory of the Tartars, which begins about two hundred years after the eſtabliſhment of the Turks in Perſia. All the princes whom Zingis dethroned in Bactriana, Thibet, and the kingdom of Tangut, bore the ſurname of Mahomet, and took the title of ſultan, an uſage which could only be derived from the Turks their conquerors, already muſulmans. Zingis-Kan ſubdued them all, and after

(*b*) This account of the origin and eſtabliſhment of the Turks, is the ſubſtance of a great quantity of materials which I collected on that ſubject when reading the Byzantine authors.

them

them the great ſultan of Perſia. But he did not renounce idolatry to embrace the worſhip of Mahomet. This change did not happen among the Tartars till the times of Burga Uſbeck and Barak his deſcendants and ſucceſſors, about the beginning of the fourteenth century. By means of them and Tamerlane it was introduced into the Indies, where perhaps the Perſian, Arabian, and Egyptian merchants had already laid ſome foundation for it. If we may believe Mirkhond, and after him Khondemir, it owes its riſe to Mahmoud, firſt ſultan of the dynaſty of the Gaznevides, who, according to theſe authors, conquered the Indies in the 392d Year of the Hegira; from whence he carried off immenſe or rather incredible riches (*i*).

From this diverſity of origins proceeds that difference of ſentiments and religion which is to be found among the Indian mahometans. This oppoſition does not happen with reſpect to the five principal points, which they regard as the baſis and foundation of their law, and conſiſts in believing one only God, in acknowledging Mahomet for his prophet, in being punctual at prayer and giving alms, in performing a pilgrimage to Mecca, and obſerving the faſt of Ramadan. They only differ in ſome particular explanations of thoſe commandments, in ſome minute practices, and above all, in the implacable hatred which ſubſiſts between the partiſans of Ali and of Omar. This diviſion pro-

(*i*) See D. Herbelot at the word Mahmoud.

ceeds

ceeds to the moſt outrageous ſchiſm; and as it prevails in the Indies as well as in the reſt of Aſia and Africk, we cannot diſpenſe with relating its original.

Altho' Ali, Mahomet's nephew and ſon-in-law (*l*), pretended to have been appointed by this new legiſlator his ſucceſſor in the Arabian throne, a powerful faction ſet aſide his title, and gave the ſcepter to Abubeker Mahomet's father-in-law. After him the ſame faction conferred it on Omar and Oſman, becauſe the prophet had likewiſe married their daughters. Ali, enraged to ſee his hopes and pretenſions cut off by three ſucceſſive nominations, formed, as is ſaid, a conſpiracy againſt Oſman. The conſpirators beſieged him in his palace, and at laſt maſſacred him. Thoſe Arabians and Egyptians, who had been the caliph's murderers, proclaimed Ali, who at firſt made a ſhew of refuſing, but ſoon after accepted the throne. This inſtallation together with his conſtant pretenſions, brought him under ſuſpicion of having been concerned in Oſman's death, whoſe family accuſed him loudly of murder and uſurpation. They ſecured a conſiderable party to themſelves; and an engagement enſued between the two armies, and Ali's triumphed by a dreadful ſlaughter of their adverſaries.

This victory, which ſecured him the crown, increaſed the averſion his enemies had for him;

(*l*) Olearius's voyage to Perſia, p. 955, & ſeq. D. Herbelot on the words Ali and Othman. M. Simon's hiſtory of the belief and manners of the people in the Levant.

and

and they imagined they found a freſh reaſon for it in a pretended encroachment which Ali was guilty of. The alcoran, which its author had his reaſons for leaving obſcure and unintelligible in many places, occaſioned every day doubts and diſputes amongſt its rigid followers. Ali, who had the title of the prophet's nephew and ſon-in-law, and flattered himſelf that he inherited a portion of that celeſtial light which they believed was attached to his family, took it upon him to explain thoſe texts which troubled their conſciences. He acknowledged the law in all its authority, and ventured to give a commentary of it, which was adopted and followed by all his party, but which at the ſame time brought about no change in religion. It nevertheleſs furniſhed his adverſaries with a pretence to treat him as an innovator. His name and that of his deſcendants were curſed, and their perſons excommunicated in all the moſques belonging to the caliphs of the houſe of Oſman, from Moavia down to Omar the ſon of Abdalaziz, who ordered that ſolemn malediction to be ſuppreſſed. There were even ſome of the Abaſſide caliphs, that is, of the third and laſt race, who renewed that ancient hatred, ſuch as Mothaded and Motavakel. On the contrary, the caliphs of Egypt, ſurnamed *Fathimites*, from Fatima the daughter of Mahomet and wife of Ali, added his name to the prophet's in the proclamations which they made from the top of their moſques.

Seven centuries had elapſed in this medley of reſpect

reſpect and hatred, when about 1363, there appeared at Ardebil in Perſia, a learned man called Sophi, who gave out that he was lineally deſcended from Houſſain the ſon of Ali, who was wrongfully excluded from the throne after his father's death. The auſterity of his life, the external innocence of his manners, accompanied with a genius capable of diſtinguiſhing itſelf, acquired him a great reputation, and even the quality of *Schich*, which means the ſon or relation of the prophet. He was the firſt who had the boldneſs publickly to teach and write that the ſucceſſion of Mahomet had been fraudulently uſurped by Abubeker, Omar, and Oſman; that God had raiſed him up to recover the glory of Ali, which had been buried for many ages; to revive a great number of miracles which he ſaid had been ſuppreſſed by the jealouſy of the Turks; and to ſhew to men that the explications of Ali were conformable to the ſpirit of the alcoran.

The doctrine of Sophi ſoon found followers among the Perſians, a changeable people, and eaſily drawn away by novelty. They abandoned the ſect of the Turks; they looked upon them as the corrupters of the law, and made it an article of religion to excommunicate them. The wars which were carried on a long time between theſe two nations increaſed the ſchiſm; and at laſt it became more conſpicuous by the different colour of their turbans, the Perſians chuſing red, and the Turks white and green. Although both have retained the common name of *Muſulmans*, which means, *thoſe that are ſaved from eternal*

eternal damnation, yet they differ in the following points. 1ſt, The Perſians interpret the alcoran in a different manner from the Turks: 2dly, They have not the ſame ſaints: 3dly, They do not believe the ſame miracles: 4thly, they have not the ſame moſques or ceremonies: 5thly, The greateſt feſtival among the Perſians (*m*) is that which they celebrate in honour of Haſſan and Houſſain the ſons of Ali, in order to repair the injury which was done them by excluding them and their poſterity from the throne, whereas the Turks hold them in abomination: 6thly, The Perſians maintain ſeveral fabulous and childiſh traditions, which are deſpiſed elſewhere; amongſt others, that Duldul the horſe of Ali proceeded from a rock; that the angel Gabriel carried Ali the ſword with which he triumphed over all his enemies, and ſlew a dragon with ſeven heads; that the ſultan Mahomet Ghodabende diſcovered near Kufa in Perſia a tomb with this Inſcription: *Here lie Adam, Noah, and Ali*; that Ali drinks with the angels in paradiſe; and laſtly, that the intention of God was to give him the alcoran, which fell into Mahomet's hands only by a miſtake.

Theſe abſurdities have paſſed from Perſia to the Indies, where it is no leſs dangerous to contradict them. The kings of Golconda (*n*), Viſapour, and ſome others, follow the ſect of Ali. The great mogul, the kings of Comorin, Java, the Maldives, Achen, Bantam and Macaſſar,

(*m*) See the deſcription of that feſtival in Tavernier, l. iv. c. 7.
(*n*) Tavernier, l. iii. c. 1. and his account of the Seraglio, c. 20.

are

are pure mahometans. But their ſubjects are not always of the ſame belief, and the princes commonly take no notice of the difference. The native Indians not being very fit for government, the Perſians go thither to ſeek their fortunes, and fill up the principal employments in the court and army of the great mogul. Although he does not oppreſs them in the article of religion, yet moſt of them profeſs externally that of the ſovereign, and the ſame may be ſaid of all the other kings in the Indies.

A learned man of our own age * has handled, with his uſual erudition, the manner wherein mahometaniſm was introduced into thoſe eaſtern regions. The Arabian colonies, ſays he, which on the diſcoveries of the Portugueze were found in the maritime cities of the Indies, have given occaſion to believe that they came thither by ſea, and that they had eſtabliſhed themſelves nearly in the ſame manner as the Portugueze, who had conquered and peopled a vaſt extent of country from Cape Boïador to China. But it ſeems to be certain, that theſe ſettlements were carried on in a different manner. The Arabians were ſettled at Sofala and Mozambique on the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, before the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and traded with the merchants of Perſia, who brought them all the commodities of India and China, and took in exchange thoſe of Africa, Egypt, and Chriſten-

* The abbé Renaudot in his diſſertation on the entrance of the mahometans into China, p 302, 308, & ſeq.

dom,

dom. The force of arms had already put them in poſſeſſion of Arabia, Perſia, and all the provinces to the river Indus; thus it was eaſy for them to go by land from kingdom to kingdom, even to the extremities of the eaſt. If they had had great fleets which could have made them maſters of the ſea, it is very probable they would have attempted the conqueſt of that country as well as they ſeized on all thoſe whither they could march their armies. But we do not find in their hiſtories, or even in the Portugueze accounts, that their moſt conſiderable ſettlements had any other original than commerce and religion.

The Portugueze found the African negroes ſettled in ſeveral places from the river Indus unto Cape Comorin, but particularly at Calicut. Barros relates that Sumara Peyrimal, king of Malabar, having been converted to mahometaniſm, and deſigning from a principle of devotion to end his days at Mecca, divided his kingdom among his children and relations, and gave Calicut to one of his nephews, who was his principal heir, with the title of Zamorin or emperor of Malabar.

The negroes had come to Coulam to trade there, and the Peyrimal king gave them Calicut, where they eſtabliſhed their principal magazines, not only of pepper and ginger which that country furniſhed in abundance, but likewiſe of all other drugs and ſpices which were brought thither from the iſlands and extremities of the eaſt. This eſtabliſhment, and the veneration which the Zamorins, ſucceſſors of Peyrimal, entertained

for the mahometan negroes, rendered them very powerful at Calicut and throughout all the eaſt, where they made alliances with the principal Indians, who reckoned it an honour to give their children to them in marriage. They made themſelves as powerful with the princes ſettled in different parts of the eaſt, becauſe theſe petty princes being continually at war, engaged the Moors in their ſervice who were the beſt ſoldiers in all the Indies. Moſt of the patans or kings of the country were idolaters, and mahometaniſm had not then made the progreſs it did after the the conqueſts king Ecbar made in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century.

Paſſing Cape Comorin and ranging along the eaſtern coaſt and iſlands, the Portugueze did not meet with ſo great a number of mahometans. However, they were ſettled at Malaca, in the iſland Sumatra and the Moluccoes: but were ſcarce to be found in moſt of the other kingdoms.

Theſe long voyages were neither ſafe nor frequent; and the merchants being on that account obliged to ſtay long in the principal ſea-ports, married wives there, their religion permitting them to have ſeveral. Thoſe new families engaged others, and the advantage which the princes found in drawing to their harbours the commerce of Arabia, Perſia, Egypt, the reſt of Africa, and Europe, which was carried on by the Red-Sea, procured the merchants all the encouragement they could hope for. Thoſe idolatrous princes, brought up in the ancient ſuperſtitions,

ſtitions, were not very anxious with reſpect to a diverſity of religions, and looked upon them all as indifferent. Thus they eaſily ſuffered their ſubjects to embrace that of Mahomet, which appeared to them preferable to the reſt, on account of the protection which the Arabians made them expect from the ſultans, whoſe power was known through all Aſia. The princes themſelves in dangerous times made profeſſion of mahometaniſm, that they might engage the Moors on their ſide, who multiplied at laſt ſo prodigiouſly, that they poſſeſſed whole cities, or a part of the moſt conſiderable ones. Thus this religion, which has nothing very diſguſtful in it, eſtabliſhed itſelf by degrees in ſundry places, and became yet more powerful when ſome Moors or Arabs, who were raiſed to the firſt employments in the courts of Cambaya and Guzarat, drew thither a great number of the Aſian Turks called *Rumis*, ſome of whom made themſelves maſters of ſome poſts, as Melique Az, who made a conſiderable ſettlement at Diu, where he was a long time troubleſome to the Portugueze. From the continent they paſſed to the Molucco iſlands, where they converted the kings of Tidor and Ternate to their religion. They received great favours from theſe princes, whom the advantages of commerce and the ſuccours of the Arabians confirmed in mahometaniſm. The Portugueze authors aſſure us that this eſtabliſhment happened a little before the diſcovery of the Indies.

To this firſt method of introducing mahometaniſm

taniſm in the Indies, the Arabians joined another, which was not leſs effectual by the dextrous and ſubtle manner in which they put it in practice. This was the preaching of their derviſes or faquirs. This order of religious perſons did not venture openly to condemn the worſhip eſtabliſhed in the country where they were ſtrangers; on the contrary, they carefully abſtained from every thing that could diſguſt thoſe of whoſe power they were apprehenſive. They had nothing to fear in moſt of the maritime cities of the Indies; becauſe the idolatrous inhabitants commonly are not jealous of other religions, and never entertain the maxim to convert foreigners to their different ſects. But when the prince was diſpoſed to embrace mahometaniſm, then the Arabs ſent for ſome of their faquirs to inſtruct him in the doctrines of the alcoran. The Portugueze found one at Tidor, who had come on purpoſe to extirpate the remains of idolatry in that kingdom. The Arabians muſt have found a preſent advantage in eſtabliſhing their religion before they attempted it. They made themſelves by this means maſters of the trade; under pretence of defending the princes from their enemies, they occaſioned the Moors to arrive in great numbers, and rendered themſelves ſo formidable, that they frequently became abſolute maſters of the harbours, where they had at firſt been received as merchants. Sometimes, under the ſhadow of devotion, they perſuaded the prince and great men to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, or to ſend rich preſents thither in order to put themſelves

themſelves under the protection of their prophet. In this flouriſhing ſtate of their affairs, it was not difficult for them to engage many to their religion, eſpecially a great number of ſlaves, who by that means became exempt from tribute; becauſe they enjoyed the ſame advantages which had been at firſt granted to the mahometans, in order to bring them to the principal ſea-ports or trading cities.

SECT. IV.

Of the Indian Chriſtians.

AT the Hague in 1724, there appeared a book entitled, *The Chriſtianity of the Indies*, the errors and partiality have diſguſted all reaſonable men. The author is an apoſtate monk, by name Vieſſiere la Broze, formerly benedictine of Corbia, who has merited by his zeal and learning to be made library-keeper and antiquarian to the king of Pruſſia. From the title of his work, one ſhould imagine to find therein the riſe, progreſs, and eſtabliſhment of the chriſtian religion in the Indies: but nothing was more remote from the author's intention. His ſole deſign, and we are perſuaded he will not deny it, has been to revenge the cauſe of Neſtorius, to canonize his followers, to juſtify his blaſphemies, to write againſt the third general council of Epheſus, to undertake the defence of mahometaniſm, to let looſe againſt the Roman church that fury which the proteſtants now bluſh

for in the firſt reformed, and which they ſhew no longer in their writings; to decry the ſynod of Diamper, and the archbiſhop don Mecrezes who preſided in it; and laſtly, to pour out all the bitterneſs and acrimony of his zeal againſt a ſociety which he hated, for other reaſons, beſt known to himſelf.

That we may not be accuſed of recriminating without grounds, we ſhall here ſet down ſome expreſſions of this author. "According to him, page 40, the account of the holy apoſtle Thomas's death is no leſs fabulous than his coming to the Indies; but owes its riſe to the fables of the Manicheans. It may be advanced without danger of error, page 46, that the conformity of the name has occaſioned the apoſtle St. Thomas, and an Armenian merchant called *Thomas Cana*, or *Mar Thomas*, to be confounded together. The miſſionaries, pages 43 and 506, have miſtaken the apoſtle St. Thomas for one *Thamo*, an egregious cheat, who made himſelf head of the ſect of contemplatives in China. Or perhaps another Thomas, page 41, a diſciple of the arch-heretick Manes. The errors imputed to Neſtorius, page 14, are only diſputes about words. I have found, page 3, great marks of purity and antiquity in the Neſtorian community. The title of *Mother of God* given to the Virgin, page 11, is derived from the Arians and Apollinariſts. Almoſt all thoſe who have ſpoken of the mahometan religion, page 525, tell us that it was eſtabliſhed by force of arms, and is ſtill maintained by violence. That accuſation is unjuſt, eſpecially in the mouth of

of a man of the Roman communion. This laſt indeed, page 291, has the hardineſs to attribute to itſelf all the marks of truth; and not content with that, employs the moſt cruel puniſhments to eſtabliſh a tyrannical authority over conſciences. It authoriſes and protects, page 292, all abuſes. And is indebted for its preſervation, page 527, to the fires and moſt barbarous cruelties of the inquiſitors." After ſuch exceſſes and open avowals, would this fugitive monk perſuade us that the ſpirit of irreligion has not been his motive for changing his religion? This is not the place to refute all his errors. We ſhall confine ourſelves to our ſubject, and make his ignorance or bad faith appear with reſpect to the origin and progreſs of chriſtianity in the Indies.

Without adopting all that the too credulous miſſionaries and travellers have written of the death of St. Thomas in the Indies, and the prodigies which accompanied or followed it, it is difficult or even impoſſible to reject the teſtimony of ancient hiſtorians and tradition, which unanimouſly give evidence for the travels of the holy apoſtle into the eaſtern countries. The apoſtles before they ſeparated (o) divided the univerſe amongſt them in order to preach the goſpel, every one in the kingdoms which fell to his ſhare. St. Thomas had Parthia, St. Matthew Ethiopia, and St. Bartholomew the Indies adjacent thereto. Socrates, from whom we learn this article, ſpeaks according to the geographical ideas of his age, or after eccleſiaſtical authors

(o) Socrates, hiſt. eccl. l. i, c. 29.

who followed the common notions of their time. The country of the Parthians, which had been only a ſimple province, frequently tributary to the Perſians, became the moſt flouriſhing province of Aſia nineteen years after the death of Alexander, by the eſtabliſhment of the throne of the Arſacides, who made themſelves maſters of all that the Macedonian Seleucidæ had poſſeſſed from Meſopotamia to the Indies. The Romans could never tame their power, which ſubſiſted to the 229th year of Chriſt, when Artaxerxes founded the ſecond kingdom of the Perſians. They comprehended at that time under the name of *Parthia*, all that lies beyond the Tigris and Euphrates; this fell to the lot of St. Thomas (*p*); and conſequently the Indies made a part of his apoſtleſhip. This is the tradition of the five firſt ages of the church; and Euſebius in ſeveral places ſays (*q*) that our anceſtors confirm it

He tells us moreover, that St. Pantene, animated by an evangelical zeal, made a voyage to the Indies, to proclaim the myſteries of the croſs there; and that he found the goſpel of St. Matthew written in Hebrew, in the hands of ſeveral Indians, who adored the truths therein contained, and had received it from St. Bartholomew, who inſtructed them in the doctrines of the new law. The voyage of St. Pantene is fixed at the year 317 (*r*). Altho' the miſſion St. Bartholomew

(*p*) This is confirmed by the teſtimony of Coſmas, Chriſtianorum opinio de mundo, l. ii. p. 147 in fine. Collect. P. P. Græc. edit. Montfaucon.

(*q*) Euſeb. Pamphil. hiſt. eccl. l. iii. c. 1. and l. v. c. 10.

(*r*) Vid. Pagi, ad hunc annum 317.

regarded

regarded chiefly a part of Africa, it cannot from hence be concluded that he never travelled to the Eaſt-Indies. On the contrary, there were ſeveral motives which might engage him to undertake it. A zeal and ſollicitude which comprehended not only all the churches, but all the nations of the world; the great reputation of the Indies, whereof the Egyptian and Babylonian merchants continually ſpoke with the higheſt applauſe, gave him pain, when he reflected on a numerous rich and civilized people which continued buried in the thick darkneſs of paganiſm; the eaſineſs of the paſſage, which could be performed in a very ſhort time, and opportunities for which offered every day, preſſed him to go and preach the goſpel there. But as this was not the principal place which the Holy Ghoſt had marked out for him, and as perhaps he was beſides informed that St. Thomas was there already, he returned to finiſh his miniſtry in Africa.

Theſe teſtimonies of our moſt celebrated writers, ſupported by the uniform tradition of almoſt all ages and travellers, and theſe conjectures founded on the nature of things, ought, it ſhould ſeem, to remove the objections of ſome learned criticks, founded on the equivocal acceptation of the Indies. It is true that the ancients, often very inexact in their notions of geography, have given that name to countries very far diſtant from one another, namely, Ethiopia, Arabia, Iberia, and Colchis. The black complexion of ſome of theſe nations, or perhaps ſome reſemblances in the nature of the countries which produced nearly the ſame

ſame commodities, have been the ſources of this error. We ought not to be ſurpriſed thereat, ſince even in our days the vulgar language confounds amongſt us America with the Eaſt-Indies, contrary to all the probabilities of good ſenſe and etymology. But altho' St. Bartholomew firſt exerciſed the functions of his apoſtleſhip in Ethiopia, it does not follow from hence, that he never paſſed over to the proper Indies. An authority ſupported by facts, which are not contradicted by others, gives us ſolid reaſons to believe the contrary.

The ſequel of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory furniſhes us with new proofs, chiefly for the preaching of St. Thomas in the Indies. It was ſo generally acknowledged from the third century, that the impious Manes, who gave himſelf out for a ſecond Meſſiah, and choſe his own apoſtles, ſent one of them to the Indies, named Thomas (*s*), in hopes that he might be one day confounded with the diſciple of Jeſus Chriſt, by an effect of ignorance, blindneſs and perverſeneſs, as it has been by a man delivered up to error (*t*). This is the opinion of a learned man who ought not to be ſuſpected by la Broze, but whom the change of profeſſion has not driven out of the bounds of moderation.

It was to confirm the faith of the Indians,

(*s*) Voluit fortaſſe impoſtor (Thomam ſuum in Indiam mittendo) Chriſtum etiam in hac parte imitari, dum Thomam apoſtolum ad evangelium ſuum prædicandum, in Indiam deſtinaret. Cave, ſæc. iii. in Mane, p. ii.

(*t*) Chriſtianity of the Indies.

abandoned

abandoned to themſelves, that St. Pantene (*u*), of whom we have ſpoken, undertook that voyage; and that St. Athanaſius appointed Trumentius biſhop of the Indies (*x*), where he had the ſatiſfaction to ſee the goſpel practiſed to the utmoſt perfection of its dictates. St. Jerome (*y*) in effect aſſures us, that every day he entertained at Jeruſalem monks who came from the Indies, as well as from Perſia and Ethiopia, to viſit the holy places. They were likewiſe Indians of a religious order (*z*), who gave the emperor Juſtinian the eggs of ſilk-worms, which were not then known in Europe. In reading the diſcourſe of the brachmans to Alexander, which we have related in the beginning of this hiſtory, it has been undoubtedly obſerved, that thoſe philoſophers who gave it to Palladius, had taken what they ſay of the Word, from the chriſtian doctrine, and that the expreſſions they uſe are nearly the ſame as in the goſpel, which they could not poſſibly have learned from a manichean apoſtle. Coſmas of Alexandria, who travelled thro' all Perſia and the Indies about the year 530, informs us that he found there (*a*) an infinite number of churches, biſhops, martyrs, monks, religious perſons and hermits.

After Coſmas we meet with no more travellers to the Indies, until the thirteenth century;

(*u*) Euſeb. Pamphil. hiſt. eccl. l. v. c. 10.

(*x*) This is related at great length in Sozomene, l. ii. c. 24. and in Socrates, l. i. c. 20.

(*y*) Hieron. epiſt. vii.

(*z*) Procopius, miſcellaneous hiſtory, c. 17.

(*a*) Coſmas Indico Pleuſtes, Chriſt. opinio de mundo, l. iii. p. 179. Conſult alſo Montfaucon's preface, c. iii. n. 6.

and

and all thoſe who have been there ſince, have unanimouſly related the tradition of the country on the preaching of St. Thomas. In this manner Haiton the American (*b*) ſpeaks of it about the year 1300. It was there (in the Indies) that the apoſtle St. Thomas preached the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and converted many provinces and nations. But as theſe countries are at a great diſtance from thoſe where the chriſtian religion is generally profeſſed, our worſhip is much fallen off; and there only remains one city of chriſtians, all the reſt having entirely abandoned the faith. Mark Paul had given a more circumſtantial account about twenty years before him. In the province of Malabar, which is the great Indies (*c*), they preſerve the body of St. Thomas the apoſtle, who ſuffered martyrdom in that province for the love of Jeſus Chriſt. His body lies in a ſmall city, where there are many chriſtians, who render him the honours that are his due. The inhabitants of the country revere him as a great prophet, and call him *Anonyam*, which ſignifies *a holy man*. They come from afar to worſhip it; they carry off with them the earth of the place where they believe he ſhed his blood, and they give it to the ſick in the ſpirit of faith. The inhabitants of Meliapour and Cochin gave the ſame account to the Portugueze; and a volume might be made of teſtimonies given to this purpoſe by all the travellers of Europe ſince the diſcovery of the paſſage to the Indies.

(*b*) Haito Armenus, hiſt. orient. c. 6.
(*c*) Marc. Paul, l. iii. c. 27.

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The relaxation of diſcipline, the want of inſtruction, and the deſerted ſtate wherein the Indian chriſtians had been for many ages, produced an almoſt total defection from the faith when the Turks and Tartars took poſſeſſion of thoſe kingdoms. Amongſt them the conqueſt of conſciences and of cities proceeded with an equal pace, or rather were one and the ſame object of their purſuit; ſince the alcoran commands them to put to the ſword all who will not acknowledge one God, and Mahomet for his prophet. The dread of certain death, the ignorance or ſcarceneſs of miniſters, and the effeminacy of their character, had rendered theſe chriſtians averſe to martyrdom, and diſpoſed them on the contrary to embrace a new religion which preſerved the unity of God, the deteſtation of idols, and the veneration of Jeſus Chriſt, whom they were allowed to reſpect as a great prophet. This kind of analogy along with other motives, threw them into the errors into which the Perſians had already fallen, and almoſt all of them adopted mahometaniſm. But ſince the chriſtian princes have made the conqueſt of the Indies, they have ſent a great number of evangelical labourers thither in order to revive the purity of worſhip.

SECT. V.

Of the Indian Neſtorians.

RELIGION had already received a conſiderable wound from the neſtorians. This corruption of doctrine was introduced into the Indies

Indies by two ways. From Conſtantinople, where the hereſy of Neſtorius with reſpect to the plurality of perſons in Jeſus Chriſt took its riſe, it paſſed into Aſia, where it preſerved a numerous party. Seleucia on the Tigris was the center of that communion (*d*). The patriarch who reſided there took the title of catholick, and arrogated to himſelf a pre-eminence over all the biſhops and archbiſhops of the Roman church. The biſhops of the eaſt received their miſſion from him by means of two primates, one of whom was for the Indies, and the other for Cathaya. He acquired that juriſdiction in the Indies from the time that the patriarchs of Alexandria deſiſted naming the biſhops there, as it had been ſettled (*e*) by St. Athanaſius. The patriarch of Seleucia took advantage of that neglect. He ſent them biſhops and prieſts who ſpread about the poiſon of Neſtorius, and forgot not to inſpire their chriſtians with hatred for the communion of the weſt. It is ſo univerſally and deeply rooted there, that, according to our beſt accounts, all the chriſtians of the country were tainted with it when the Portugueze began to ſettle there, and their attachment to this ſchiſm is the greateſt obſtacle to their converſion; not, as ſeveral proteſtants have advanced, their averſion to the doctrine of the Roman church, ſince they profeſs all its eſſential articles, as a learned man of our own age has ſhewn (*f*). Seleucia having been deſtroyed

(*d*) See Montfaucon, præfat. in Coſmam. c. iii. n. 6. Doucin. hiſt. of neſtorianiſm. Mambourg's ſchiſm of the Greeks. The abbé Renaudot's diſſert. on ancient relations, p. 260.

(*e*) Sozomene, l. ii. c. 24.

(*f*) Abbé Renaudot in his perpetuity of the faith.

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by the wars of the Saracens, the ſeat of the catholick patriarch was transferred to Moſul on the Tigris, not far from the place where it is thought Nineveh anciently ſtood.

The ſecond means whereby the neſtorian hereſy inſinuated itſelf into the Indies, was its eſtabliſhment among the Tartars by the ſermons and politics of the famous prieſt John. The deputies whom the courts of France and Rome ſent (*g*) into Tartary a ſhort time after that event, reported that they had met with great numbers of chriſtians there, but all tainted with the errors of Neſtorius, or others ſtill more pernicious. The Tartars imported them into the Indies when they marched thither under the conduct of Tamerlane.

SECT. VI.

Of the Indian Proteſtants.

IT having been then decreed that all the nations of the world ſhould endeavour to enrich themſelves by the commerce of the Indies, and that they ſhould imprint there the traces of their paſſions, vices, and particular errors in religion, calviniſm had not yet exiſted eighty years, when the Dutch began to plant it in thoſe remote kingdoms. The States General have prohibited under very ſevere penalties any other religion to be taught (*h*) but the pretended reformed in the

(*g*) See the new collection of voyages to Aſia.
(*h*) Corn. Le Brun's voyage to the Indies, p. 363.

iſlands,

iſlands, and that part of the continent which their company poſſeſſes. But as much as this prohibition is rigorouſly obſerved, as much do they deſpiſe (*i*) the orders and intentions of the republick, which has enjoined the company to maintain miniſters to withdraw the Indians from the worſhip of idols. On the contrary, the moſt part of the directors entertain no paſſion but cruelty for men whom they fleece by all methods imaginable. Their zeal is ſupplied by the catholicks, againſt whom they inveigh according to cuſtom, and ſometimes go ſo far as to give them very unworthy treatment (*l*).

It is not eaſy to know what to think of the monk La Croze (*m*) when he perſonates the devotee, and gives thanks to heaven for the progreſs that lutheraniſm is making in the Indies, by the induſtry and the ſermons of thoſe pious miniſters whom the king of Denmark has ſent thither ſince the year 1705. It would ſeem that this fugitive monk has renounced the catholick doctrine, only that he might adopt all the reſt.

(*i*) See the complaints of Tavernier a proteſtant on this head, t. v. p. 323; and his article in Bayle.

(*l*) We read a remarkable fact of this kind in father Tachard, p. 158.

(*m*) Chriſtianity of the Indies, p. 536.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.